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WASHINGTON READING A LETTER

This most remarkable portrait of America's Great President was painted by Alexandre Casarin and is now for the first time reproduced from the original canvass owned by Mr. W. Lanier Washington

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GOLD LOCKET-MEDAL CONTAINING A LOCK OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

A remarkable trophy given as a prize for Marksmanship to the Light Guard, One Hundred and Sixth Regiment, New York State Militia, by Mr. Perrie, a hair-dresser in Philadelphia at the time when Washington, as President, resided in that city. The medal was won by Captain David D. Hart of New York, from whose niece, Mrs. Josephine A. Hart, it passed to its present owner, Mr. W. Lanier Washington. The medal is engraved: "The Enclosed Lock of Gen'l Washington's Hair Presented to the Light Guard by Mr. Perrie of Philadelphia"

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NUMBER I
FIRST QUARTER
FIRST SECTION

Washington's Old World Ancestry

Historic Past of the Race which produced the great Patriot of America & Blood Royal of the Man who changed a King's Colony into a Nation, strong and independent & Some of the Life-Transmitting Forces whose Analysis, bringing a fuller Comprehension of his Genius, should be undertaken by Americans who recognize their debt to George Washington

BY

MABEL THACHER ROSEMARY WASHBURN

THERE IS NO AMERICAN, with the possible exception of Lincoln, whose name today means so much to his countrymen as does that of Washington. The energies of his enemies during his lifetime were unable to weaken the bond which existed between the supreme leader of our struggle for independence and the people who were freed thereby; and even the impossible tradition which has, to a certain extent, displaced the real Washington in our minds has but placed a mist of exaltation about him as a halo. Washington, the man, we know but vaguely. Washington, the patriot, the soldier, the hero, lives forever in the visions of the people whose dream of liberty he made come true.

Yet, curiously, few Americans have any knowledge of the historic past of the race that produced George Washington. Most of us know that it was his

family Coat-of-Arms which gave the *motif* for the American Flag. Even those of us who are uninterested in heraldry, perhaps considering the subject itself as outside the scope of interest for citizens of a republic, can hardly avoid the conclusion that "the Father of his Country" possessed a right to Arms, that he exercised that right, and that the founders of the Nation bestowed upon the Armorial Achievements of her First Citizen the supreme honor in their gift.

During Washington's life, the matter of his English ancestry was of sufficient interest to evoke enquiries from Sir Isaac Heard, Garter King-of-Arms, who, in 1791, wrote to the President for data on his lineage. He learned of the American ancestry of the family, which began with two brothers, John and Lawrence Washington, who came to Virginia in 1657.

The Garter King-of-Arms, however, was satisfied with merely circumstantial evidence — or, at any rate, he apparently did not pursue his research after finding in the Heralds' Visitation of Northamptonshire, 1618, a John and Lawrence Washington, sons of Lawrence Washington of Sulgrave. These two brothers could not possibly have been the Virginia colonists, for, according to the Visitation, they would have been men of over sixty years of age in 1657, the year when the Virginians came over; and the latter, it is known, were young men on their arrival.

The error in identification continued to be repeated and believed until 1863, when an article calling attention to the inconsistencies in the theory was written for *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* by Isaac J. Greenwood, Junior. Three years later, Colonel Joseph L. Chester contributed a paper to *The Herald and Genealogist,* a London publication, which was later reprinted in two American magazines, this article also referring to the erroneous supposition first hazarded by Sir Isaac Heard. Colonel Chester proved conclusively that the John Washington, son of Lawrence of Sulgrave, far from being the John Washington of Virginia, was Sir John Washington of Thrapston, that both of his wives died in England, the second surviving her husband. It is known that John Washington of Virginia was twice married, but that his first wife died in Virginia, and that his second wife, Ann Pope, who was co-executor of his will, was living in Virginia at his death and after. Sir John of Thrapston had children, Mordaunt, John, and Philip. John of Virginia had John, Lawrence, and John. In addition to this array of facts, Colonel Chester made it clear that Lawrence Washington, the brother of Sir John of Thrapston, was a clergyman of the Established Church of England, and Lawrence Washington, the Virginia colonist, brother of John of Virginia, was not a clergyman.

But these demolishers of the false theory failed to offer any evidence in support of a true theory. In 1889 Henry F. Waters published a paper in *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* setting forth the results of researches made by him in England on the Washington ancestry. He found, first

of all, that when Lawrence Washington died in Virginia, although his will was proved there, letters of administration on his property were granted in England, May, 1677, to Edmund Jones, and in the document it was stated that Lawrence Washington, deceased "in partibus transmarinis," was formerly of Luton, Bedfordshire, England.

The next discovery was of a bond of John Dagnall, of Grove, in the Parish of Tring, Hertfordshire, and William Roades of Middle Claydon, Buckinghamshire, dated 29 January, 1649-50, for administration of the property of Andrew Knowling of Tring, deceased, the administration to continue during the minority of Lawrence Washington, "the younger," who was stated to be at that time fourteen years old; the bond being also for their guardianship of this same Lawrence. Tring is about twelve miles from Luton, where it had been shown Lawrence Washington of Virginia had lived. The will of Andrew Knowling was then examined. It was made 13 January, 1649-50. In it is the following: "Item I will, give and bequeath unto Lawrance Washington the younger (my godsonne) All my freehould Landes and Tenem^{tes} whatsoeu^{r} lying and being within the pish of Tring aforesaid or else where within the Realm of England. To haue and to hould the same to him and his heires for euer. Item I give and bequeath unto Amphilis Washington my daughter in lawe (& mother of the said Lawrance) the some of Threescore poundes of Curr^{t} mony of England to be paid her within six months after my decease."

Further on in the will, he says: "Item I give and bequeath unto John Washington, William Washington, Elizabeth Washington, Margarett Washington & Martha Washington (children of the said Amphilis Washington my daughter in Lawe) The some of Eight and Twenty poundes a peece of Curr^{t} mony to be paid to them att theire seu'all & respective Ages of One and Twenty years," etc. He makes his Godson, Lawrence Washington, the younger, his Executor, with John Dagnall, John Lake, William Roades, and Elizabeth Fitzherbert as Administrators.

Amphilis Washington, whom Andrew Knowling calls his daughter-in-law, could hardly have been to him in the relationship we should understand by the term — wife of his son — or her name would have been Knowling and not Washington. She was evidently his stepdaughter. In his will he speaks of Elizabeth Fitzherbert also as his daughter-in-law, of William Roades as his son-in-law, and leaves a bequest to the two daughters of Susan Billing, his deceased daughter-in-law, whose husband was John Billing, also deceased at the time of Andrew Knowlton's will. He gives fifty shillings to Susan Emmerton of Tring, but does not mention her relationship, if any existed, to him.

It seems evident that Andrew Knowling had married a widow, whose former married name was Roades, and that her children (and, consequently, his step-

children) were William Roades, Amphilis Washington, Elizabeth Fitzherbert, and Susanna Billing.

But who was the husband of Amphilis Washington, and the father of Lawrence and John Washington of Virginia? From Lawrence being called "the younger" it seemed probable that his father had borne the same name. The Parish Registers at Tring were searched. The Register for 1634 was entitled: "A Regester Booke conteaning all the names hereafter Named either Baptized, Married or Buried. Bought by Maister Andreu Knolinge, Richard Hunton," and others who are named as Churchwardens. Under the baptismal records appeared the following:

"Crisames sene our Ladie daye Anno Dom 1635 Layarance sonn of Layarance Washington June the xxiii^{d}"

"Baptized sene our Ladie daye Anno dom 1636 Elizabeth da of Mr. Larrance Washington Aug xvii"

"Baptized senc Mickellmas daye Anno dom̄ 1641 William sonn of Mr Larrance Washenton baptized the xiiijth daij"

We have seen that Lawrence Washington was fourteen years old in January, 1649-50, when John Dagnall and William Roades were bonded as his guardians and as Andrew Knowling's administrators. This would make his birth about 1635, and his baptism evidently occurred soon after his birth.

The baptisms of John, Margaret, and Martha Washington, the other children of Lawrence and Amphilis Washington, named in Andrew Knowling's will, were not found. John was probably the eldest son, for in February, 1655-56, there were issued to him Letters of Administration on the estate of his mother, Amphilis Washington, whose burial on 19 January, 1654-55, was recorded in the Registers of Tring. From the baptismal records quoted above we have seen that Lawrence was born in 1635, Elizabeth in 1636, and William in 1641. John could hardly have been under twenty-one when in 1656 he became his mother's administrator, which would make his birth at least as early as 1634, since his brother, Lawrence, was born in 1635. He was, therefore, at least twenty-three years old when he sailed for Virginia, and Lawrence was then twenty-two.

From the fact that her son, rather than her husband, administered Amphilis Washington's estate, it is apparent that she was a widow at the time of her death. The identity of her husband, father of the first Virginian Washingtons, was established as follows. As noted above, Andrew Knowling, the step-father of Amphilis Washington, in his will bequeathed a legacy to the daughters of another step-daughter, Susan, wife of John Billing. A document was found, wherein John Dagnall, brother-in-law to the deceased Susan Billing, was bonded as guardian to Susan Billing's daughters—the daughters who were legatees in Andrew Knowling's will. With this bond was discovered a little memorandum, written in Latin on a small piece of paper. It was signed "Laurentio Wash-

THE OLD WASHINGTON MANOR HOUSE, SULGRAVE, ENGLAND

KITCHEN IN THE WASHINGTON MANOR HOUSE, SULGRAVE

ington in Art: magro Surrog: Offilis" The little document showed that Lawrence Washington, Master of Arts, was at its date, 29 January, 1649-50, acting as Surrogate in the Archdeacon's Court at Whethampsted, and that he was almost certainly a clergyman, since the office of Surrogate in this Court,—an ecclesiastical one,—was scarcely ever held at that time by a layman. He appeared at the Whethampsted Court in connection with the bonding of John Dagnall as guardian to Susan Billing's daughters,—Susan Billing being Andrew Knowling's stepdaughter, and the sister of Amphilis Washington. It seems clear that this Lawrence Washington was the husband of Amphilis Washington, the father of Lawrence "the younger," and consequently the brother-in-law of Susan Billing regarding whose daughters' guardianship he appeared at the Archdeacon's Court.

The only Lawrence Washington of whom any record was found, who was of suitable age to have been in 1649-50 the father of a boy some fourteen years old, as was Lawrence, "the younger," at this time, and who held the Degree of Master of Arts, and was a clergyman, was the Lawrence Washington, son of Lawrence Washington of Sulgrave. This was the man who had appeared in the Northamptonshire Heralds' Visitation of 1618, and whom Sir Isaac Heard, Garter King-of-Arms, and later genealogist, assumed to be the Virginia colonist, who came over with his brother, John, in 1657. We have seen already that the John Washington, son of Lawrence of Sulgrave, was not the Virginia colonist, but was Sir John Washington of Thrapston, who lived and died in England.

Here, then, largely as a result of Mr. Waters' indefatigable and scientific researches, was a chain of excellent circumstantial evidence which seemed to establish as all but absolutely proven the fact that John and Lawrence Washington of Virginia (the former the great-grandfather of George Washington) were sons of Reverend Lawrence Washington, son of Lawrence of Sulgrave, and whose ancestry for several generations back was recorded in the Heralds' Visitation of Northamptonshire of 1618. Yet, convincing as were the reasoning and array of evidence, there lacked the touch of finality which should forever put the subject of Washington's English ancestry beyond question.

But in 1892 Mr. Worthington Ford made a wonderful discovery. In the archives of the State Department at Washington was the will of Mrs. Martha Hayward of Stafford County, Virginia, which was proved December, 1697. In it she mentions her "two cousins John & Augustine the sons of my coz^{n} Lawrence Washington of Westmoreland County," her "cozen Lawrence Washington son of Mr John Washington of Westmoreland County," "coz^{n} Nathaniel Washington son of the said John Washington," "Coz^{n}" Hen: Washington, son of the said John Washington," and "kinsman Mr John Washington of Stafford County," She also says: "Item it is my will and desire that my Exec^{trs} with all Conven^{t} speed send to England to my Eldest sister Mrs Elizabeth Rumbold

a Tunne of good weight of Tobacco, & the same I give to her and her heirs forever." She bequeaths a like legacy to "my other sister Mrs Marg^{t} Talbut."

The "Cozens" referred to in her will were really nephews and grand-nephews, for Martha Hayward was before her marriage Martha Washington, and she was the sister of John and Lawrence Washington, the Virginia immigrants.

In his will, made "21$^{st.}$ of 7ber 1675" and proved "Ye 11th Jana: 1677," John Washington, the Virginia colonist, says: "Item I doe giue unto my sister Marthaw Washington ten pounds out of y^{e} mony I haue in England w^{t} soeuer else she shall be oweing to me for transporteing herselfe into this Country —& a year's accomodation after her Comeing in & four thousand pounds of tobb^{co} and Caske."

It will be recalled that in the will of Andrew Knowling Elizabeth Washington was the first-named daughter of Amphilis Washington, and Martha the last-named of the daughters..

Lawrence Washington of Sulgrave, father of Reverend Lawrence Washington, had among other children a daughter, Margaret, who married, first, Samuel Thornton, and, second — Sandys. Samuel Thornton's will, made and proved in 1666, had for two of its witnesses, "Eliza: Mewce," and "Margaret Talbott." It was proved by "Dame Margaret Sandis als Thornton his Relict & executrix named in the will." In 1673 Dame Margaret Sandys made her will, which was proved in 1675, and in it she makes a bequest to "my dear sister Mewce," while "Elizabeth Mewce" appears as a witness. In 1676 "Elizabeth Mewce in the Co. of Middlesex, widow," made her will which was proved the same year. She refers to her sister, "the Lady Washington," her uncle, Robert Washington, her sister, "Mrs. Alice Sandys," her sister, "Mrs. Frances Gargrave," several other relatives, and bequeaths five pounds to "Mrs. Elizabeth Rumball, my niece."

As we have just seen, Martha (Washington) Hayward, sister of John and Lawrence Washington of Virginia, calls Mrs. Elizabeth Rumbold her eldest sister. Elizabeth Mewce was, therefore, aunt to the Virginia immigrants, as were Dame Margaret Sandys, Mrs. Alice Sandys, Mrs. Frances Gargrave, and Mrs. Margaret Talbott. As noted above, Margaret Talbott was, with Elizabeth Mewce, a witness to the will of Samuel Thornton, the first husband of Dame Margaret Sandys, who was born Margaret Washington; and Mrs. Martha (Washington) Hayward in her will refers to her sister, Mrs. Margaret "Talbut."

There remains, therefore, but to prove that Mrs Elizabeth Mewce, Dame Margaret Sandys, Mrs. Alice Sandys, and Mrs. Frances Gargrave,—whose niece, Mrs. Elizabeth Rumbold, was the eldest sister of Martha (Washington) Hayward and her brothers, John and Lawrence Washington of Virginia,—were the daughters of Lawrence Washington of Sulgrave, whose lineage is traced back in the Northamptonshire Visitation of 1618.

A STREET IN SULGRAVE

THE WASHINGTON MANOR HOUSE, SULGRAVE

ST. LEONARD'S CHURCH

In this Visitation, Lawrence Washington of Sulgrave and his wife, Margaret Butler, are recorded as having the following children: William, John, Richard, Lawrence, Thomas, George, "Elizabeth, ux. Francis Mewce of Holdenby," "Joane, ux. Francis Pill of Maidford, co. Northampton," Margaret, Alice, Frances. Here then we have Lawrence (the Reverend Lawrence Washington, M. A., father of the Virginia immigrants); Mrs. Elizabeth Mewce (whose niece, Mrs. Elizabeth Rumbold, was sister to the immigrants); Margaret (Dame Margaret Sandys, as is evidenced by the fact that Mrs. Elizabeth Mewce was her sister); Alice (Mrs. Alice Sandys, as shown by the will of her sister, Mrs. Mewce); Frances (Mrs. Frances Gargrave, as in this same will).

In the Visitation it is shown also that Lawrence Washington of Sulgrave, grandfather of the immigrants, had one sister, Elizabeth, and one brother, Robert Washington. This was the "Uncle Robert Washington," mentioned in the will of Mrs. Elizabeth Mewce. Dame Margaret Sandys, in her will, also speaks of her uncle, Robert Washington.

The ancestry of George Washington, down to the first of his line in America, is traced in the Visitation of Northamptonshire, made by the Heralds in 1618, for seven generations. It begins with John Washington of Tuwhitfield, Lancashire, who lived probably in the middle part of the Fifteenth Century. His son, Robert, lived at Warton, Lancashire. He married—Westfield, and had issue, John Washington. The latter was also of Warton. His wife was Margaret, daughter of Robert Kitson. Her brother was a Knight, Sir Thomas Kitson of London.

Lawrence Washington, son of John and Margaret (Kitson) Washington, removed to Northamptonshire. He was evidently engaged in the profession of the law, as the Visitation records him as of Gray's Inn, one of the Inns-of-Court of London. He became Mayor of Northampton. In 1538 or 1539 he received a grant of the Manor of Sulgrave in Northamptonshire. This land had belonged to the Priory of Saint Andrew, which had been seized by Henry the Eighth. Lawrence Washington received at the same time other land which had been the Priory's—in Sulgrave Woodford, Stotesbury, and Colton. He had also other land in Sulgrave which belonged to the Priories of Canons Ashby and Catesby. His second wife was Amy, the daughter of Robert Pargiter of Gretworth, Gentleman. She died 6 October, 1564. Her husband made his will 18 October, 1581, and it was proved 11 February, 1584-85.

Lawrence Washington, and his wife were buried in Saint James' Church at Sulgrave, and were commemorated by a stone with brass plates, on one of which were the Washington Arms. There were also effigies of Lawrence and Amy Washington, and of their eleven children, and an inscription relating the deaths of the husband and wife.

A son of the foregoing was Robert Washington of Sulgrave. He sold Sulgrave Manor to his nephew, Lawrence Makepeace, in 1610. The latter's son, Abel, sold the Manor to Edward Plant. He disposed of it to the Reverend Moses Hodges, to whose descendants it passed down, and by them is owned at the present time. Sulgrave was listed in Domesday Book, and in 1330 was recorded as belonging to the Prior of St. Andrew.

Robert Washington's first wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Light of Radway, Warwickshire. He made his will 7 February, 1619-20, and it was proved the following January. His eldest son was Lawrence Washington. After the sale of Sulgrave Manor by his father he removed to Brington, a few miles from Northampton. It was through the marriage of Lawrence Washington to Margaret Butler that royal ancestry belonged to the man who, above all others, made successful America's revolt against the King of England. The outline of Washington's Butler descent, and his lineage in the other notable families brought into his ancestry through the marriage of Lawrence Washington to Margaret Butler, will appear below.

The marriage took place in Saint Leonard's Church, Aston-le-Walls, Northamptonshire, 3 August, 1588. One of their children was Thomas Washington, who was a page of Prince Charles, later King Charles I, and died in Madrid in 1623, while attending the Prince on the latter's romantic visit to Spain to see and woo for himself the Spanish Infanta.

Lawrence Washington died 13 December, 1616, and was buried in the Church of the Blessed Virgin at Brington, where a memorial stone tablet may still be seen, recording his death, and emblazoning the Washington Coat-Armor with the Arms of his wife, Margaret Butler, impaled. In the church is also a tablet recording the deaths of Robert Washington, the brother of Lawrence, and Robert's wife, Elizabeth. Fac-similes of these two stones were in 1860 presented to Charles Sumner by Earl Spencer. The Spencer estate of Althorp is near Brington, and the family's parish-church is at Brington, many Spencer memorials being therein. Mr. Sumner gave the stones to the State of Massachusetts, and they are now in the State House at Boston.

Lawrence Washington, son of Lawrence and Margaret (Butler) Washington, the father of the Virginia colonist, was matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford, 2 November, 1621, according to the College Registers, but it is said he entered Brasenose about two years before. In 1623 he received the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, and later became a Fellow of Brasenose. He served as Lector of the College from 1627 to 1632, and was appointed a Proctor of the University 20 August, 1631. In March, 1632-33 he became Rector of Purleigh, in Essex. Sometime after this he married Amphilis Roades.

When the Civil War between the King's Party and the Parliamentarians broke out the Washingtons seem to have been without exception ardently loyal to

THE BUTLER MANOR HOUSE
Aston-le-Walls

INTERIOR OF ST. LEONARD'S CHURCH
Where Laurence Washington and Margaret Butler were married

REAR VIEW OF ST. LEONARD'S CHURCH

the King. Lawrence Washington suffered for his convictions as to patriotism, for in November, 1643, he was ejected from his rectorship by order of the Parliament. Partisan feeling in those days, as in every age, excited men's prejudices to fever heat. In the eyes of the extremists among the Cavaliers the Parliamentarians,—practically all Puritans,—were disloyal citizens both as to Church and State. Their peculiar religious views and customs were regarded as hypocritic cant. On the other hand, the Puritans in many cases believed all King's Men to be dissolute in morals and conscienceless as to religion. Their fidelity to the Throne was called time-serving sycophancy; their conformity to the State Church was but a blind following of forms and ceremonies. Both sides were bitter and uncharitable, and it was but natural that they should be so.

So it is with understanding of this factional spirit of the times that we must read the following accusation of Lawrence Washington, the charge against him being utterly denied by other contemporary accounts. In 1643, the year of his expulsion from Purleigh Church, a violent diatribe was published by one John White and printed by order of the Parliament. It was entitled "The First Century of Scandalous, Malignant Priests Made and Admitted into Benefices by the Prelates in whose Hands the Ordination of Ministers and Government of the Church hath been." In this book was the following:

"The Benefice of Lawrence Washington, Rector of Purleigh in the County of Essex, is sequestered, for that he is a common frequenter of Ale-houses, not onlley himselfe sitting dayly tippling there, but also incouraging others in that beastly vice, and hath been often drunk, and hath said, *That the Parliment have more Papists belonging to them in their Armies than the King had about him or in his Army, and that the Parliments Armie did more hurt than the Cavaliers and that they did none at all;* and hath published them to be Traitours, that lend to or assist the Parliament."

As an offset to the foregoing is this, from the contemporary "Sufferings of the Clergy," by John Walker, published in London, 1714.

"*Purleigh,* R., one of the Livings in these Parts:

"To which he had been Admitted in March, 1632, and was Sequestered from in the Year 1643, which was not thought Punishment enough for him, and therefore he was also put into the *Century,* to be transmitted to Posterity, as far as that Infamous Pamphlet could contribute to it, for a *Scandalous,* as well as a *Malignant Minister,* upon these weighty Considerations. That he had said 'the Parliament have more Papists belonging to them in their Armies, than the King had about him, or in his Army, and that the Parliament's Army did more Hurt than the Cavaliers, and that They did none at all, and had Published them to be Traytors, that lent to, or assisted the Parliament.'

"It is not to be supposed, that such a Malignant could be less than a Drunkard, and accordingly he is charged with frequent Commissions of that Sin, and

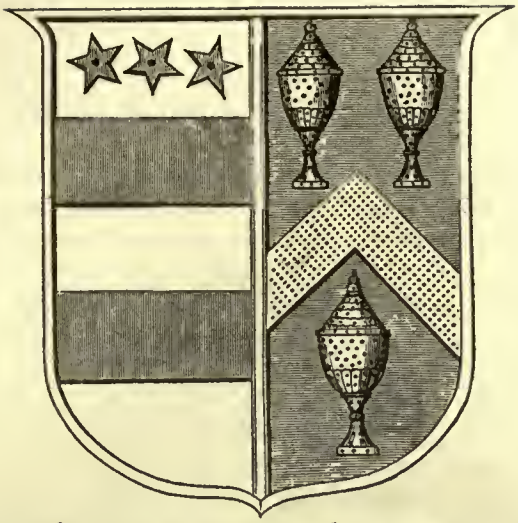
not only so, but with Encouraging others in that Beastly Vice. Altho' a Gentleman (a Justice of the Peace in this County) who Personally knew him, assures me, that he took him to be a Worthy, Pious Man, that as often as he was in his Company, he always appeared a very Modest, Sober Person, and that he was Recommended as such, by several Gentlemen, who were acquainted with him before he himself was. Adding withal *that he was a Loyal Person, and had one of the best Benefices in these Parts, and this was the ONLY Cause of his Expulsion, as I verily believe.* After which, he subjoyns, that another Ancient Gentleman of his Neighborhood, agrees with him in this Account. Mr. *Washington* was afterwards permitted to Have, and Continue upon a Living in these Parts, but it was such a Poor and Miserable one, that it was always with Difficulity that anyone was pursuaded to Accept of it."

A letter, preserved in the Bodleian Library and written by Henry Ayloffe, says of the Rector of Purleigh: "I doe not remember that ever I knew or heard of Mr. Washington after he had been sequestered, but there was then one Mr. Roberts a neighbor of mine who was owner and patron of a parish so small that nobody would accept of his church (but with difficulty) and Mr. Roberts entertained Mr. Washington, where he was suffered quietly to preach. I have heard him and tooke him to be a very worthy pious man. I have been in his company there, and he appeared a very modest sober person, and I heard him recommended as such by several gentlemen who knew him before I did. He was a loyal person, and had one of the best benefices in these parts, and this was the only cause of this expulsion as I verily believe."

It was this letter which was evidently the basis for the statements in the "Sufferings of the Clergy," quoted above. Mr. Waters, who found the letter, was able to make out the name of Braxted in the last paragraph, which was only partly decipherable, and this makes it very probable that Braxted Parva, in Essex was the parish to which Lawrence Washington retired after leaving Purleigh. Thomas Roberts owned this living, which was a very small and unimportant one. But in the Parish Registers of All Saints' Church at Malden, in Essex, is recorded the death in 1652 of "Mr. Lawrence Washington," who is believed to have been the Reverend Lawrence Washington, former Rector of Purleigh.

The above-quoted letter was written by Henry Ayloffe, He was undoubtedly of the family of Sir Benjamin Alyoffe of Braxted, whose wife was Martha Tyrell. Her mother was Martha Washington, daughter of Sir Lawrence Washington. He was the son of Lawrence Washington, whose father, Lawrence, was the great-grandfather of the Rector of Purleigh. The latter was, therefore, in the relation to Martha Tyrell, wife of Sir Benjamin Ayloffe, of second cousin once removed.

As has been seen, the Reverend Lawrence Washington married Amphilis Roades. She died in January, 1654-55 Their children were: John and Law-



HERE·LIETH·THE·BODI·OF·LAVRENCE
WASHINGTON·SONNE·&·HEIRE·OF
ROBERT·WASHINGTON·OF·SOVLGRAE
IN·THE·COVNTIE·OF·NORTHAMTON
ESQVIER·WHO·MARIED·MARGARET
THE·ELDEST·DAVGHTER·OF·WILLIAM
BVTLER·OF·TEES·IN·THE·COVNTIE
OF·SVSSEXE·ESQVIER·WHO·HAD·ISSV
BY·HER·8·SONNS·&·9·DAVGHTERS
WHICH·LAVRENCE·DECESSED·THE·13
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THOV·THAT·BY·CHANCE·OR·CHOYCE
OF·THIS·HAST·SIGHT
KNOW·LIFE·TO·DEATH·RESIGNES
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REVIVES·THE·DAYE
SO·CHRIST·SHALL·VS
THOVGH·TVRNDE·TO·DVST·&·CLAY

ARMS AND INSCRIPTION OF LAURENCE WASHINGTON AND MARGARET BUTLER

These memorials of the parents of John Washington, who emigrated to Virginia, are upon a slab of bluish-gray sandstone in the parish church of Brington, near Althorp, Northamptonshire

rence, the Virginia immigrants; Elizabeth, who married—Rumball or Rumbold; William; Margaret, who married—Talbott; and Martha, who followed her two brothers to America, married Nicholas (?) Hayward, and died in 1697.

Before tracing the line of George Washington's ancestry in America, it will be of interest to follow back his lineage from Margaret Butler, the grandmother of John Washington, the first of the line here, for she brought to the Washingtons, to be transmitted down to the greatest of American patriots, the strain of blood royal.

The Plantagenet dynasty descended from the Counts of Anjou in France, whose ancestry begins with Ingelgerius. He was father of Fulk the Red, who was Count or Viscount of Anjou. He was succeeded by his son, Fulk the Good, who reigned from 941 or 942 to about 960. The latter's son, Geoffrey "Greytunic," was the next Count, reigning till 987. He enlarged by conquest the borders of Anjou, and his valorous deeds were sung in the ballads of the time. His wife was Adela of Vermandois.

"Greytunic's" son, Fulk the Black, succeeded his father in 987. He began the conquest of Touraine for Anjou, and built a great line of castles for defence. He was a man of violent passions, but with a noble capacity for penitence. In order to give token of his sorrow for a great crime he went three times on pilgrimages to the Holy Land, and an old legend tells that he caused his servants to scourge him all the way with branches of the Broom plant, the "Plantagenista," from whence the name of Plantagenet is said to have come to his race. He founded the Abbeys of Beaulieu, near Loches, of Saint Nicholas at Angers, and of Ronceray at Angers, and built other religious houses. He died at Metz, on his way home from his third pilgrimage, in 1040. His first wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Bouchard the Venerable, Count of Vendôme. He married, second, Hildegarde of Lorraine.

Geoffrey "Martel,"—"The Hammer,"—was the son of Fulk the Black and Hildegrade of Lorraine. He was born in 1006, and on his father's death became Count of Anjou, the only issue of Fulk's first marriage being a daughter. He was a wild, turbulent figure of a dark and lawless period, wherein only the golden-lambent torch of the Christian Faith made bright places in the gloom. Geoffrey married Agnes, the widow of William the Great, Duke of Aquitaine, but died without issue in 1060.

The next Count of Anjou was Geoffrey's nephew, Geoffrey III, "The Bearded," who was the son of Ermengarde, the daughter of Fulk the Black and Hildegarde of Lorraine. Ermengarde married Geoffrey, Count of Gatinais. The right of Geoffrey the Bearded was disputed by his younger brother, Fulk le Réchin, "The Cross-Looking." He imprisoned Geoffrey, for which deed of violence and usurpation he was called to account by the Pope and was compelled to release his brother. He was, however, finally successful in his efforts

ALTAR OF ST. LEONARD'S CHURCH, ASTON-le-WALLS

Before this altar were married Lawrence Washington and Margaret Butler, grandparents of the two brothers who came to Virginia

WASHINGTON ARMS FORMERLY ON THE GARDEN MANOR HOUSE, NOW ON A FARM HOUSE THREE MILES DISTANT

PIECE OF SILVER PLATE IN GARSDEN CHURCH, NEAR MALMESBURY
PRESENTED IN 1684 BY THE WIFE OF LAURENCE WASHINGTON
Pronounced by experts the most perfect example of its date known to exist

WASHINGTON MONUMENT OF RAUNDS STONE IN THE CHANCEL OF THE CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS ISLIP, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

"Here lieth the body of Dame Mary, wife unto Sir John Washington, Knight, daughter of Phillipe Curtis, Gent, who had issue by her said husband three Sonns, Mordaunt, John and Phillipe, Deceased, the first of January, 1624"

and was recognized as Count of Anjou. His successor was Fulk V, "The Young," his son by Bertrade de Montfort.

It was during his reign that war broke out between England and Anjou. The English King, Henry I, was also Duke of Normandy, and both Normandy and Anjou claimed Maine. The struggle was brought to an end, for the time, at least, by a series of diplomatically arranged marriages between the two claimant families. Henry's eldest son, William the Aetheling, married Fulk's daughter, Matilda. The Count's second daughter, Sybil, became the wife of William Clito, the son of Robert "Curthose," whose father was William the Conqueror. Fulk gave his daughter Maine for a wedding dowry. In 1127 the daughter of Henry I, Matilda, married Fulk's son, Geoffrey the Fair,—Geoffrey Plantagenet.

Count Fulk visited the Holy Land in 1120, and in 1129 he married Melisinda, the daughter of Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem, receiving the right of succession to the throne. He became King of Jerusalem in 1131. He died in 1133 after a wise and prosperous reign. Two of his sons, Baldwin III and Amalric, followed him on the throne of the Holy Land.

Geoffrey the Fair, son of Fulk, was the next Count of Anjou. As stated above, he married Matilda, daughter of Henry I of England. He was an able, energetic ruler and did much for Anjou. He suppressed revolts of the great nobles who were his feudal vassals, and left the Countship to his son, Henry, in a strong, prosperous condition. It was Geoffrey's *soubriquet* of "Plantagenet" which gave its name to the great dynastic house of England. He is said to have worn frequently the Broom flower as an ornament in his cap.

Henry in 1154 succeeded, through right of his mother, to the English crown as Henry II. He married Eleanor of Aquitaine and thus was ruler, not only of England, but of a large territory in France— Normandy, Anjou, and Aquitaine. His history as England's king is well known. His abilities no one can question. He put down with a strong hand the Barons who had waxed daringly bold in their independence during the turbulent times of Stephen and Matilda. It was in his reign that Ireland came under the rule of England. Henry seems to have been a typical Plantagenet,—or, perhaps, one should say a typical Angevin, for the characteristics we associate with many of the Plantagenets seem to have been derived from their Angevin ancestors. They loved wildly, hated ruthlessly, sinned terribly, and—some of them—repented with deep and noble contrition. Henry's long struggle against Saint Thomas à Becket, his instigation to the Archbishop's murder, were followed by acknowledgment of his guilt, and humble penance at the Saint's shrine at Canterbury.

The next in the line of Washington's royal ancestry was John, who ascended the throne in 1199. His memory has been a hateful one to the English people, although in some respects he does not appear to have been much worse than many other monarchs of his time,—which is, however, perhaps but "faint praise."

Certainly he played against all parties and kept faith with none, except when he was forced to do so. He was married three times, to Alice of Morlaix, to Isabel of Gloucester, and to Isabel of Angoulême. Isabel of Angoulême was the mother of Henry III.

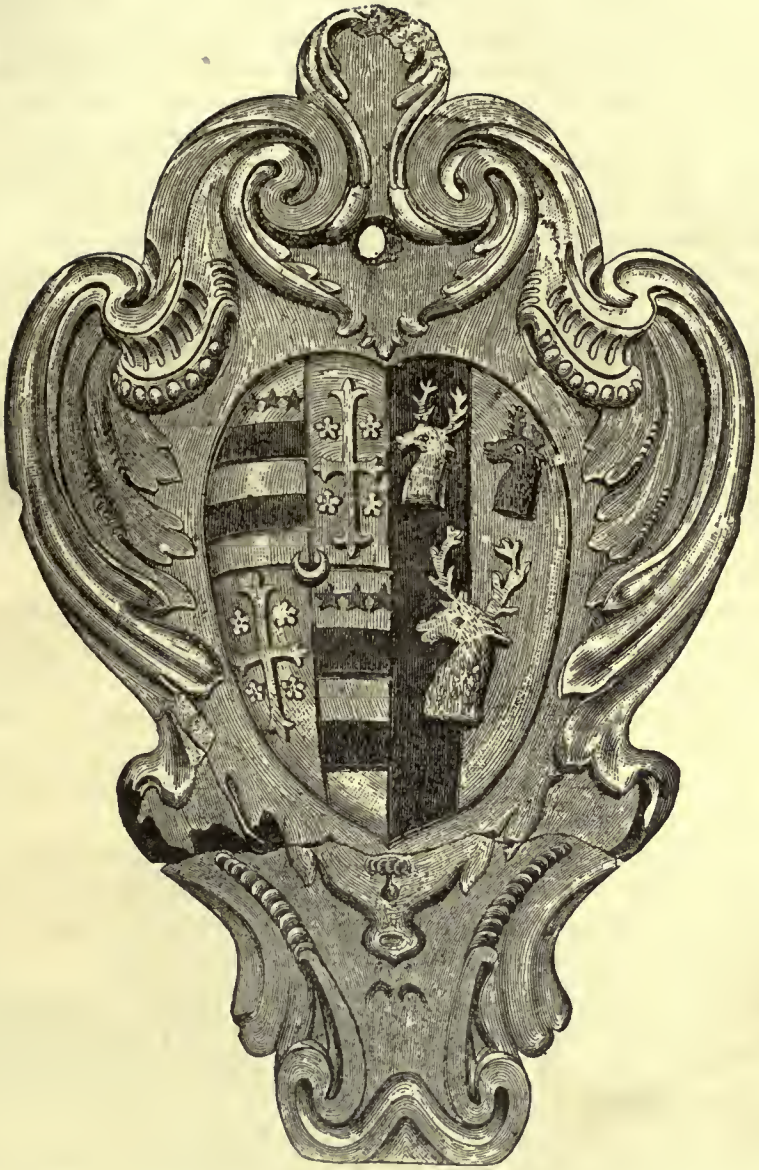
Henry succeeded his father in 1216,—the year after Magna Charta. He seems to have been a man of good character personally, but was not a popular monarch. He was largely concerned with the governance of his lands over-seas in France, and was quite as much of a Frenchman as an Englishman, which might be said of all the early Norman rulers of England.

Edward I, the eldest son of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence, was named after Saint Edward the Confessor the last of the Saxon kings of England, for whom Henry had earnest devotion. His was one of the great reigns of English monarchs. The conquest of Wales and the victorious war with Scotland are the chief activities which most of us associate with Edward. He was a wise ruler and has always held his place as a noble figure in English history. His first wife was Eleanor, daughter of Saint Ferdinand, King of Castile. She, as will appear below, was also an ancestress of George Washington, but it is with his descent from King Edward's second wife that we are now concerned.

She was Margaret, daughter of Philip III of France, and granddaughter of Saint Louis. Through her, Washington descended from Hugh Capet, founder of one of the greatest dynasties of France, which ruled the kingdom for six centuries.

Edmund, the son of Edward and Margaret, was known as Edmund of Woodstock, from his birth there on 5 August, 1301. In 1321 his half-brother, King Edward II, made him Earl of Kent, and throughout the King's life he displayed the greatest favor and brotherly affection for Edmund. He was a member of the Council at the accession of Edward III, but soon after became involved in a conspiracy to restore Edward II, whom, through the enmity of Queen Isabel and Roger Mortimer, the Queen's lover, Edmund was tricked into believing was alive. He was accused of treason to the reigning king, and was beheaded on 19 March, 1330.

The Earl's wife was Margaret, daughter of John, Lord Wake. Of their children, the eldest son, Edmund, was recognized as Earl of Kent, but died in childhood. He was succeeded by the second son, John, who died without issue. The next holder of the Earldom was a woman, Joan, the daughter of Edmund of Woodstock, son of Edward I. "The Fair Maid of Kent," as she was called, was thrice married. Her first husband was Sir Thomas de Holland, who attended Parliament as Earl of Kent. He died in Normandy in 1360. Joan married, second, Montague, Earl of Salisbury, and after his decease she became the wife of Edward, "the Black Prince," and was the mother of King Richard II.



ARMS OF SIR LAURENCE WASHINGTON, IMPALING THOSE OF HIS WIFE, ANNE LEWYN, SURMOUNTING A MURAL MONUMENT IN GARSDEN, WILTSHIRE

Thomas de Holland, son of Joan and Sir Thomas de Holland, succeeded his father in the Earldom of Kent. He was born in 1350 and died in 1397. He was always held in high esteem and favor by his half-brother, Richard II, and was Marshal of England from 1380 to 1385. He married Alice, the daughter of Richard, Earl of Arundel, one of the noblest of England's great families. There is an old Sussex rhyme:

"Since William rose and Harold fell
There have been Earls of Arundel."

Washington's ancestry in this interesting line may be briefly summed up as follows.

John, Lord of Arundel, Clun, and Oswaldestre, was prominent in the reign of Henry III, and died in 1267. His son, John, Lord of Arundel, had issue Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel. He fought gallantly in the wars of Edward I in France and Scotland, and died in 1302. His son, Edmund, married Alice, the sister of John, Earl de Warenne. Their son, Richard, served under Edward III in his wars in the Low Countries, and was at many of the famous sieges and battles of the period. He inherited the estate and title of his uncle, the Earl de Warenne, and in 1361, became Earl of Warenne or of Surrey.

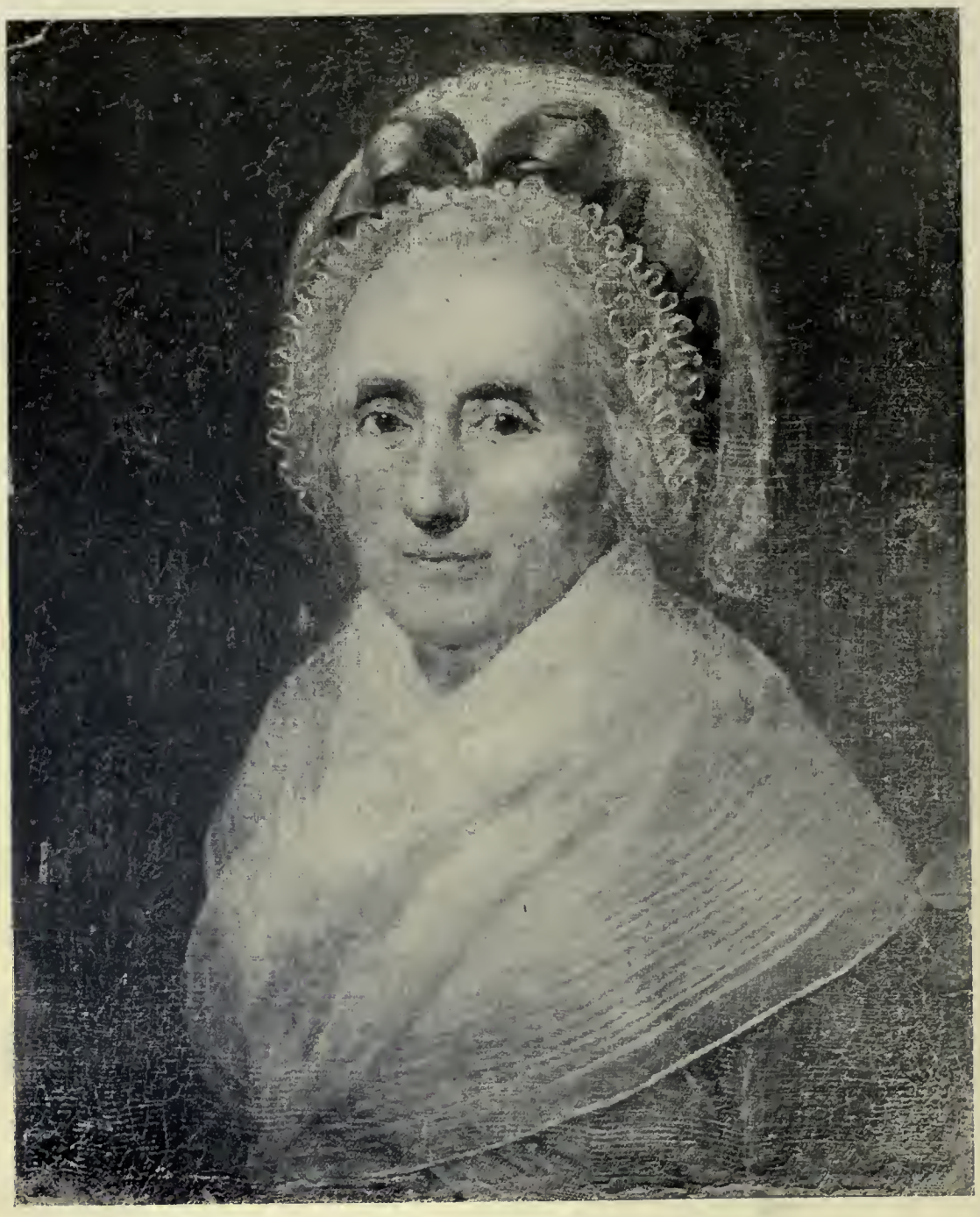
The Earldom of Surrey belonged to the family of de Warenne since the time of William de Warenne, a Norman companion of the Conqueror, on whom the latter bestowed this English rank and possession. The titles of Earl of Surrey and Earl de Warenne seem to have been used interchangeably. Through the de Warenne ancestry Washington had another royal lineage,—but one "of the left hand." An illegitimate half-brother of Henry II, Hamelin Plantagenet, married Isabel de Warenne, and assumed her name.

It was this Richard, Earl of Arundel and of Surrey, whose daughter, Alice, married Thomas de Holland, Earl of Kent. Eleanor, the daughter of the latter, —the Earl of Kent and his wife,—died in 1405. She married Edward Charlton, Baron of Powys, who died in 1421.

Through this marriage George Washington was descended from the ancient Welsh princes. The Barony of Powys was created for John de Charlton, who married Hawys. She was born in 1291, and was the daughter of Owen de la Pole and Joanna, daughter of Robert Corbet of Morton. Owen de la Pole was the great-great-grandson of Gryffith, Lord of Powys. Gryffith was the son of Meredith, Prince of Powys, who died in 1129, and was called "Meredith ap Blethyn,"—"son of Blethyn." This Blethyn descended from Mervin, Prince of Powys, whose line stretches far back to Cadwan, 635, King of the Britons who fled to the wild Welsh mountains after the final establishment of the Saxon power in Britain.

THE CHURCH OF PURLEIGH
Here Reverend Lawrence Washington, great-great-grandfather of George Washington was Vicar from 1632 to 1643

CHURCH OF SAINT ANDREW, ENFIELD, ENGLAND
Church built in 1110, in an excellent state of preservation, where Joyce Tiptoft worshipped a descendant of King Edward I of England and ancestress of George Washington



MARY BALL WASHINGTON, MOTHER OF GEORGE WASHINGTON
From the original painting attributed to A. N. Wertmüller in 1784 and now in the possession of Mr. W. Lanier Washington of New York. Until recent years it was supposed that no likeness of George Washington's mother had been preserved

The Charlton ancestry begins with Joan de Charleton or Charlton, who died in 1353. His son and heir, John, married Maud, daughter of Roger de Mortimer, Earl of March. They had issue, John, who married Joan, daughter of Ralph, Lord Stafford. Edward de Charlton, son of John and Joan de Charlton, married Eleanor, daughter of the Earl of Kent, as stated above.

The lineage of Joan de Stafford, wife of John de Charlton, goes back to Robert de Stafford and his wife, Avice de Clare, their son, Nicholas de Stafford, being Sheriff of Staffordshire in the reign of Henry I.

Through the Staffords Washington inherited a second strain of royal ancestry, Ralph Stafford (father of Joan, who married John Charlton), married Margaret Audley. She was the daughter of Hugh Audley, who became Earl of Gloucester, and Margaret de Clare, whose first husband was Piers Gaveston, the favorite of Edward II. Margaret de Clare's father was Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Hertford and Gloucester, whose wife was the Princess Jane, daughter of King Edward I and his first wife, Eleanor of Castile.

Eleanor brings into the brilliant background of Washington's ancestral past, already so vivid with heroic and romantic figures—Kings and Queens and Knights, reckless, half-pagan nobles and devoted Saint—the flashing glory of Spain in her days of splendid adventure against the Moorish invaders of her Christian land.

It would need a supreme intelligence to seek out and discover the character-results through blood-inheritance of a man like George Washington—or of any human being. The hereditary influences which have come down through the myriad streams of generating force act and re-act upon each other, and upon that mysterious Energy which is distinctive and separate in each individual, in a way too subtle to be accurately estimated in a finite balance. But even if we cannot analyze the occult processes of life-transmission through successive ages, yet we can trace some of the external channels through which the multitudinous streams of life have flowed down and together into one personality.

Eleanor was the daughter of St. Ferdinand, the King of Spain, whose lineage begins with Sancho III, of Navarre, who married Nuga Elvira, Heiress of Castile. He began to reign, with the title of Emperor of Spain, about the year 1000.

The Mortimer family, which comes into Washington's pedigree through the marriage of another John de Charlton with Maud de Mortimer, as mentioned in the above summary of the Charlton line, was one of the greatest in England and Wales. They descended from Hugh, a Norman, who in early life was married to a niece of Herfast the Dane. Later he entered the Church and became Bishop of Coutances in the latter part of the Tenth Century. One, and perhaps two, of his grandsons fought at Hastings with the Conqueror.

Roger de Mortimer, the first Earl of March, whose daughter, Maud, married John de Charlton, was the great-grandson of Ralph de Mortimer, who married

Gladuse (Gladys) Dhu, a daughter of Prince Llewellyn of Wales. Llewellyn's wife was Joan, daughter of King John of England, which brings another strain of royal ancestry into the Washington blood. Prince Llewellyn was descended from the Kings of Wales, tracing back to the same King Cadwan, from whom it has been seen Hawys, who married John de Charlton, was also descended.

Returning to the lineage through the Charlton family of Washington's English ancestry, we find that Edward de Charlton and his wife, Eleanor, daughter of the Earl of Kent, had a daughter, Joyce Charlton, born in 1403. She became the wife of Sir John Tiptoft.

The Tiptoft name seems originally to have been Tibetot, or Tybetot, and the line goes back to Henry de Tibetot, living in the reign of King Henry III. His son, Robert, was Governor of several great castles, among them Nottingham, and, as the King's Lieutenant in Wales, won important victories against the Welsh. He married Eve, the daughter of Pain de Chaworth, and their son, Sir Pain de Tybetot, also called Tiptoft, was a Knight, and was summoned to Parliament as a Baron. His wife was Agnes, daughter of William, Baron de Ros of Hemlake. The line goes down thence through Sir John, Knight and Baron, then Sir Pain de Tybetot, and another Sir John, who held several high offices, among them those of Treasurer of the Royal Household, Seneschal of Aquitaine, and Treasurer of Normandy. His second wife was Joyce Charlton.

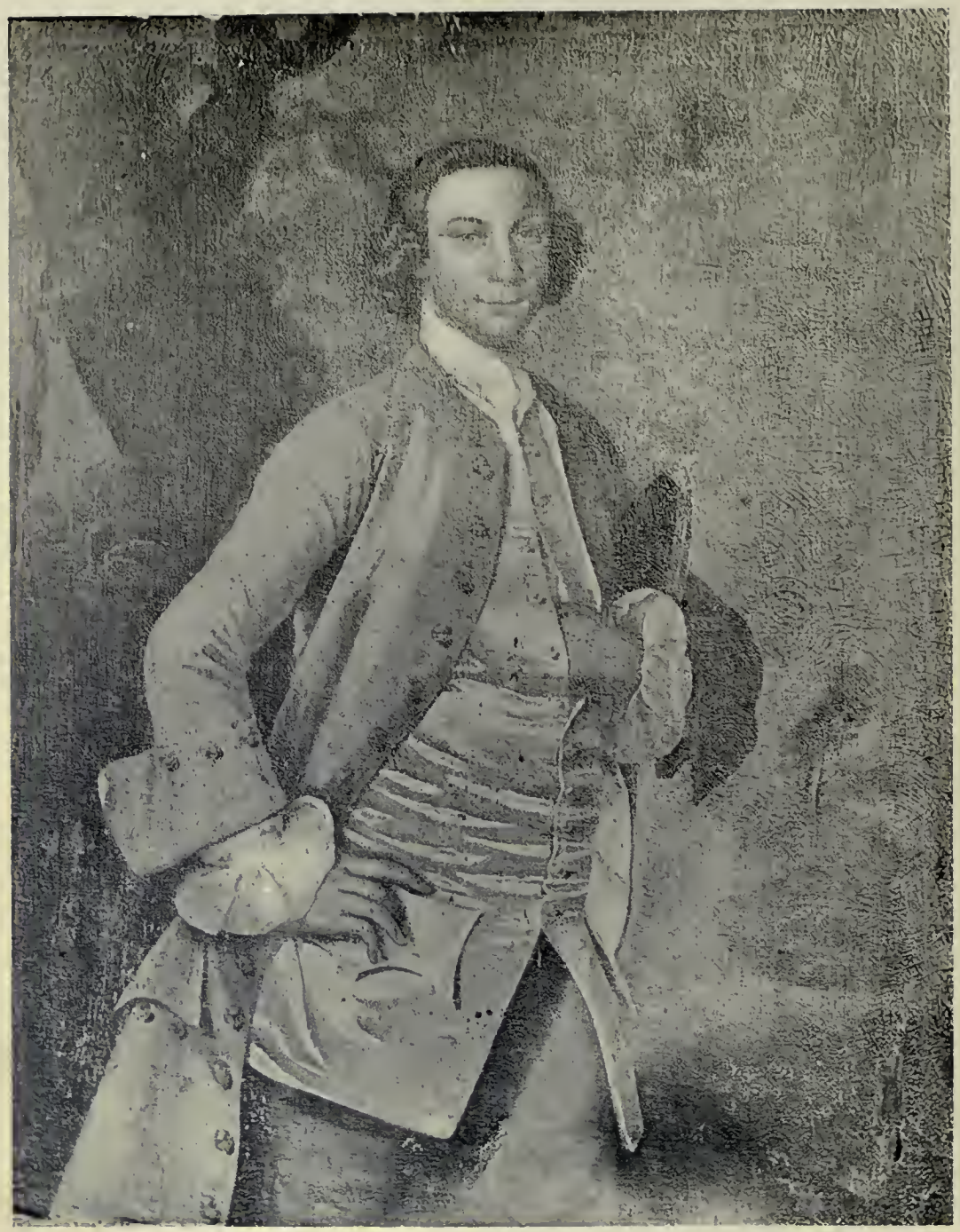
Their daughter, Joyce, Tiptoft, married Edmund de Sutton. Aston-le-Walls, in whose church Lawrence Washington and Margaret Butler, grand-parents of George Washington's first American ancestor, were married, came down to the Butlers through their Sutton inheritance, and, still further back, through the marriage of Rowland de Sutton, to Alice, daughter and co-heiress of Richard de Lexinton.

Richard de Lexinton of Tuxford, Nottinghamshire, lived in the reign of King John and was the son of Robert de Lexinton. Rowland de Sutton, son of Hervey de Sutton of Sutton-on-Trent, Nottinghamshire, who married Alice de Lexinton, as noted above, was descended from one Hervey or Hervius, a tenant of the Earl of Richmond in the Conqueror's time. He was known, it is said, as Hervius of South Town, then of Sudtown, the name finally becoming Sutton.

William de Sutton, son of Rowland de Sutton and Alice de Lexinton, became the possessor of the estates of Warsop in Nottinghamshire and Aston-le-Walls, Northamptonshire, the first coming to him through his Sutton inheritance, and Aston-le-Walls through his mother.

One of Washington's ancestors in this family, Sir John de Sutton, who lived in the reigns of Edward II and Edward III, married Margery, daughter of Roger de Somery, Baron of Dudley. She was the co-heiress of her brother, John de Somery, and thus the title of Baron Sutton de Dudley came to her hus-

COLONEL JOHN ANGUSTINE WASHINGTON
Full brother of George Washington and father of Jane Washington, wife of Colonel William Augustine Washington

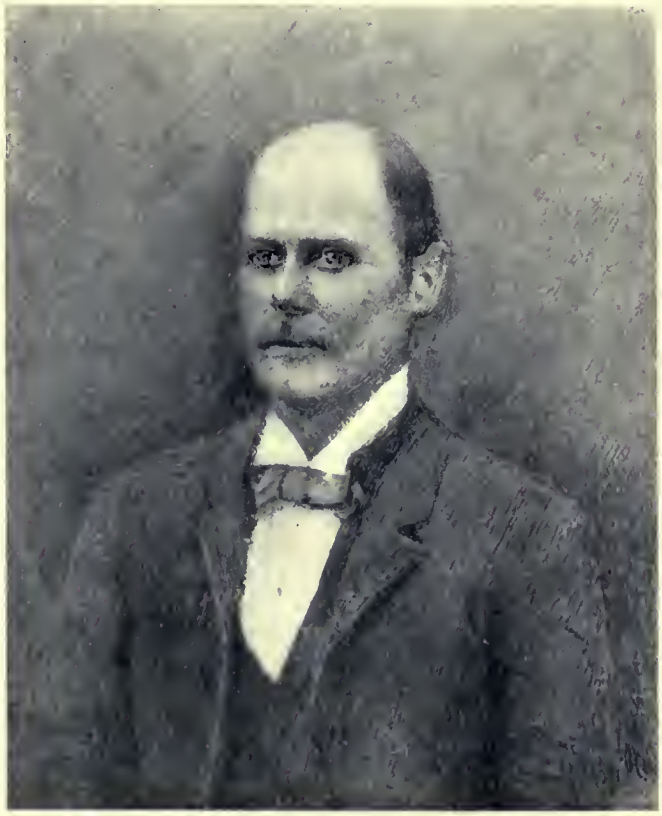


COLONEL SAMUEL WASHINGTON OF "HAREWOOD," JEFFERSON COUNTY, VIRGINIA

Brother of George Washington. Reproduced through the courtesy of Mrs. Charles Avery Doremus

COLONEL WILLIAM AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON

Son of Colonel Augustine Washington, Half-brother of George Washington, and husband of Jane Washington, daughter of George Washington's full brother, Colonel John Augustine Washington



MAJOR JAMES BARROLL WASHINGTON

From a miniature painted after his death. Among the Washingtons of his generation he was nearest of kin to George Washington

HANNAH BUSHROD
Wife of Colonel John Augustine Washington, brother of George Washington

band and their descendants. It was one of the latter, John de Sutton, the sixth Baron Sutton de Dudley, who in 1456 presented Aston-le-Walls to his son, Edmund, who married Joyce Tiptoft.

Edmund Sutton pre-deceased his father, and Edmund's son, Edward, became the owner of Aston-le-Walls. He entered into an agreement in 1530 with his brother, John, that the latter should hold this Manor during his lifetime, but that it should afterwards pass to John's daughter, Margaret. Margaret Sutton married John Butler, son of Ralph Butler of Sawbridgeworth, Hertfordshire, and thus Aston-le-Walls. came into the Butler family's possession.

John Butler died in 1563 and his wife, Margaret Sutton, in the same year, the burials of both being recorded on 17 April. Their third son, William Butler of Tighes, Sussex, was the next ancestor in Washington's pedigree. He had three sons and two daughters, and one of the latter was Margaret Butler, who, on 3 August, 1558, in the Church of Saint Leonard at Aston-le-Walls, became the wife of Lawrence Washington of Sulgrave.

Aston-le-Walls passed down to a great-grandson of John Butler and Margaret Sutton, Alban Butler, who died leaving a daughter, Elizabeth, as sole heir, She married Francis Plowden of Plowden, Shropshire, and so the Manor became a part of the Plowden estates which it is at the present time. The owner in 1909 was William Francis Plowden, Esq. The Plowdens were one of the families of the English gentry who remained Catholic at the time of the Protestant Reformation and some of the Butlers also of this branch were Catholic. One of these was the Reverend Alban Butler, the famous biographer of the Saints, born in Northampton in 1710.

So here has been briefly told an outline story of the English ancestors of George Washington,—the men and women who helped to give to America the greatest of her sons. It will be asked doubtless by many, what interest have Americans in this winding thread of genealogical lore. But if Pope was right, that "the noblest study of mankind is man," then it is surely of a vital interest to all true patriots to learn all that can be learned as to the forces which were united in Washington. Only the merest condensation of his ancestral record has been possible to give here; yet even that may well furnish subject for reflection upon the fact that he was what he was to a great extent because of what his ancestors were before him. It is true that each soul possesses a Something, indefinable and separate, which is the result of a special creative act, so far as we can judge; and it is also true that environment and education do much towards the development of a character. But, in addition to the character-results of individual type and of environment, it is manifest, not only to biologists and physiologists, but to any observing mind, that tendencies, habits, tastes, instincts

—all that go to make up personality— are more than anything else the outcome of heredity.

An inheritor of the blood which flowed and still flows in most of the royal dynasties of Europe, heir through his ancestry to the forceful men who, for good or evil, were the conquerors, the monarchs, the autocrats, of the Old World, it remained for George Washington to use all this accumulated capacity for dominance and for conquest for the sole and glorious purpose of freeing his country from the rule of tyrants and establishing her, the Queen of Liberty, among the great nations of the earth.

The Editors of The Journal of American History acknowledge, with grateful appreciation, their indebtedness for most valuable data and rare and beautiful illustrations, used in "Washington's Old World Ancestry," to the following collectors of Washingtonia:

Mr. W. Lanier Washington, of New York, great-great-great-grandson of Augustine Washington (the half-brother of George Washington), and hereditary representative of General Washington in the Society of the Cincinnati.

Mr. Edward S. Lewis, of St. Louis, of the seventh generation from Lawrence Washington, who, with his brother, John Washington, ancestor of the President, came from England to Virginia.

Mr. Telamon S. Cuyler, of Georgia and New York, student and collector of historical and genealogical data.

Mrs. Charles Avery Doremus, of New York, a descendant of the Thorntons of Virginia, through whom a marriage connection exists with the Washington family.

"THE BONE OF CONTENTION"

Lieutenant James Barroll Washington, C. S. A., Aide-de-Camp to General Joseph E. Johnston, and Captain George A. Custer, of General McClellan's Staff, with "The Bone of Contention," Lieutenant Washington's negro boy servant between them. From a photograph taken at General McClellan's Headquarters, near Richmond, Virginia, while Lieutenant Washington was a prisoner of war on parole in the Union camp. Lieutenant Washington was the great-great-grandson of Augustine Washington, half-brother of George Washington

W. LANIER WASHINGTON
Hereditary Representative of George Washington in the Society of the Cincinnati

John Tyler's Plan to Prevent the Catastrophe of the Civil War

An Original Paper in Ex-President John Tyler's Handwriting, Written in 1860 or 1861 and Just Brought to Light, Containing the Novel Proposal to Submit the Difference Between the North and the South to Arbitration by a Jury of Commonwealths Composed of Border States

BY

STEPHEN FARNUM PECKHAM

Late Hospital Steward of the Seventh Rhode Island Volunteers, First Brigade, Second Division, Ninth Army Corps

[The text of other Tyler papers, with some account of their preservation, has appeared in the preceding Number of THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY. How John Tyler would rejoice to see still preserved today, in spite of the Civil War and its scars, the might and glory of that continued Union of all the States which so greatly he desired.—THE EDITOR.]

THE LAST PAPER in the hand of President Tyler was held in a wrapper on which was endorsed: "An article written on the condition of public affairs November 1, 1861. Never published and not as thoroughly finished as desired." This document, of some length, is given below. Before proceeding to it, however, I give the brief beginning of what evidently is an earlier version. This was written on the verso of the wrapper containing the longer paper, as follows:

"SHERWOOD FOREST,
"December 3, 1860.

"GENTLEMEN:

"I am indebted to you for your flattering expressions. You have ascribed to me influences over public sentiment which I am wholly unconscious of possessing. That the present condition of the country most deeply pains me, is most certain; and that it is the duty of every citizen, however profound his retirement from public affairs, and whatever may have been his position in relation to them and the country in other days, to contribute his best efforts to restore harmony where discord prevails, and aid in rescuing the country from

danger, I most readily admit. Whatever my poor opinions are worth, they are at your service. If in your estimation they shall possess any value, you are at perfect liberty to make them public; while on the contrary if you shall consider them of no available influence I pray you to treat what I shall say as if uttered to yourselves and none others.

"That the people of other countries are lost in profound astonishment at the imminent peril which threatens our institutions I have no doubt. While the causes which have led to the present state of things have been gradually developing themselves until they have culminated into their present alarming condition, we all know."

Within the wrapper was a complete paper and also what appears to have been a revision of a portion of the same. The complete paper is as follows:

"SHERWOOD FOREST.

"MY DEAR SIR:

"I am indebted to you for your obliging letter. You are pleased to ascribe to me an influence over public sentiment which I am not conscious of possessing in any degree. That the present condition of the country deeply interests me is most certain. That our institutions are in great and imminent peril, no one can fail to see. Men of other lands are utterly astounded, I doubt not, at this state of things. That a country so prosperous, inhabited by a people so free and happy, with political institutions which have filled the world with admiration, a country which has almost without a figure of speech, sprung forth from the brain of Minerva ready armed to take her position among the proudest and most powerful nations of the world, a country still in a state of puberty, wanting twenty years to attain a century, which may be regarded as the period of national manhood—a government so tranquil in all its relations with the great world, so gentle in its exactions of its citizens that the hand of the tax gatherer is scarcely felt by any one, a confederacy which has already won for itself the title of the great modern republic, and is destined if permitted by the passions of men, to make a deeper impression on the destinies of the human race than all others its coevals or predecessors—that such a country and such a government should at a period so early in its history, be torn asunder by internal faction and sectional strife is a miracle in the affairs of human life explicable only by referring it to the fatuity of suicide.

"Why look at it, my dear sir, and see what the government is and how it should work. Thirteen States originally composed it. These States, when Provinces of the British Empire, were separate and distinct from each other. They had their several Governors, their several Legislatures and their local

systems. Their only Union existed by and through a common sceptre which was swayed over one and all. Each at different times threw off its allegiance to that common sovereign and formed a government for itself, and all soon after entered in a union for their greater security, and finally into a union under articles of Confederacy for ends and objects suggested by the interest of each and all.

"That Union was successful. After a seven years' war the separate independence of each State was recognized by Great Britain, each State distinctly mentioned in the treaty which terminated the war, and each acknowledged as an independent sovereignty. A few years' experiment under the articles of confederation impressed men with the belief that those articles required revision and enlargement. More especially was it esteemed necessary to place the safeguards of commerce in the hands of the common or central government. The conflict between the States through their several tariffs of duties on foreign imports made this necessity apparent to all. Other concessions of power to the central or agent government were believed by those who were esteemed wise men at the time necessary to be made, and out of these concessions by the several States proceeded the Constitution under which we have lived so happily and prosperously for more than seventy years.

"Thus was this great central agency, called and known as the Federal Government, brought into existence. Each State ratified it for itself—some sooner and some later. North Carolina and Rhode Island took two years to consider of it before they agreed to adopt it. To the Federal Government was confided those general powers which related more properly to the outside world, viz.: the regulating of commerce, the raising and maintaining armies and navies; the power of declaring war, of levying duties and imposing taxes and entering into Treaties with foreign Nations, along with all the incidents appertaining as necessities to the power thus specifically granted.

"There was also a common property in land already in existence and a still larger one likely to arise in the course of time, which it was necessary to provide for. The treaty-making power and the war power drew along with them the ultimate acquisition of territory, and as no one State would entrust another with the administration of its interests in such territory, it was considered to be best to constitute the Federal government a trustee in that behalf, for all the States, to manage the property for the equal benefit of all and each. That trustee has deemed it wisest to sell such territories to individual purchasers and apply the proceeds to the general expenditure.

"To each of the States has been left the high duty of domestic legislation, each for itself enacting such laws for the good of its citizens, and regulating its internal police and local institutions in such manner as to itself might seem best—neither the government of the United States nor that of any individual

State nor combination of States having anything to do with it or having any more right to interfere with it than one citizen has to enter the domicile of another to regulate the affairs of his household. Acting in true fraternal concord, the citizen of each State was entitled, within every other State, to the rights and privileges of the citizens of such State, so that the citizen of Massachusetts, for example, was placed in Virginia upon a footing of perfect equality with the native born or naturalized citizen of Virginia, to acquire property real and personal, to carry on trade and, in short, to do everything and enjoy every privilege which appertained to the Virginian under his State laws, thus evidencing in this clause of the constitutional compact a sentiment of the strongest brotherhood, and thereby overruling the principles of the Common Law which forbade aliens (the citizens or subjects of another government) from holding lands and denying to them an equal participation in the immunities and privileges of another State or Kingdom. Nor was this all the fruit borne by this tree of good brotherhood. Extradition of criminals and of all persons, whether slaves, apprentices or others, held to service in one State and fleeing to another was expressly stipulated for and guaranteed by the Constitutional Compact thus ratified and confirmed by each State for itself and by one and all.

"Thus was consummated a system apparently the most perfect that the world had seen—a system which seemed to be modeled as I have occasion before to say after the planetary system. The Central Government the sun, giving light and warmth and strength to each, and each State revolving in its own appropriate orbit without interference and seemingly without danger of collision with any other. The one government affording protection under the beautiful banner of the stripes and stars, in foreign seas and distant lands, and against rebellion and insurrection within the limits of the Union; the other throwing around its citizens the aegis of its protection and guarding with scrupulous care the domestic fireside in all its numberless relations.

"Look at that system now—examine it in all its bearings and in all its just proportions. Can there be anything in itself more perfect, or can anything be devised which would hold out the promise of greater harmony in its operations? What have been its effects in the past, and what promise does it hold out in the future? Is there anything in the history of the human race to equal its development? In eighty years it has overstepped the western waters, clambered over the Rocky Mountains, and set itself down on the shore of the Pacific Ocean, and thus calmly contemplates new additions to the course of civilization and religion.

"And what has resulted to the old Thirteen and the new States already added? Has New England reason to complain? Look at her smiling villages, her numerous towns and cities, her never-tiring and almost numberless manufacturing establishments, her land covered with abundance, her fisheries sus-

tained by governmental bounties, but above all and beyond all, her almost undisputed monopoly of the coastwise and foreign trade under governmental regulations, a trade greater than any people ever before possessed. Have the Western States any reason to complain? Did the world ever witness so rapid an expansion of all the arts and refinements of life over a dense and savage-inhabited wilderness? Have the great Middle Free States of the North cause to complain? What was New York, now the great Commercial Emporium, and what the State of New York? What were Philadelphia and the State of Pennsylvania, not to mention other States and cities, at the period of the adoption of the Constitution? Look at them now in all their grand and magnificent proportions, and compare them with what they were in 1788, and say whether they have any cause to regret the ratification on their part of the compact of Union? Have the Southern States cause to regret their ratifications of this Constitution? They have given their attention almost exclusively to agriculture, and now their productions constitute not only the chief source of the coastwise and foreign trade, but are essential to countless millions of the human race.

"Thus all sections have flourished and each and all are full of material prosperity. In the meantime all the courtesies and civilities of life have existed between the people of the several sections; hospitalities, cordial and sincere; in short, all the amenities of life, have been exercised everywhere; intermarriages without number have taken place, and in wars with other nations the only rivalry between the citizens of the several States has been in the generous and noble emulation for renown and glory.

"What has then produced the present alarming condition of the country? Whence these threats of secession and revolution on the one side and force and constraint on the other? Why this array of the Northern section against the Southern which has so recently resulted in the election of a president by an exclusively sectional vote? Let us, if possible, probe the wounds impartially, on both sides, before we undertake to apply the remedy. What complaints have the Free States to urge against the Slave States (as the one and the other by a strange perversity of language, each State being free as every other, are called)? It is a difficult matter to enumerate the grievances which the Free States have sustained from the Slave States, but we will take them according to the most approved version given by their newspapers recently.

"One, and a leading Journal, lies before me, in which I find these grievances as having their origin in the annexation of Texas. How deeply I should regret my past political life, and more especially my connection with that great measure, if it could be visited with anathema upon any such grounds. I aver most solemnly that in espousing the annexation of Texas to the Union I was influenced by no sectional motive. My motives were higher and more patriotic. In her annexation I looked to the interest of the whole country. I looked to

the expansion of our coastwise and foreign trade by the addition of an extensive gulph coast. I looked to a new and greatly extended market for our manufactures, and, above all, to the securing for the Union a monopoly of the cotton plant, thereby adding to the influence of the country in peace and war a power greater than an *army with banners.*

"How important it was regarded by England to defeat the measure of annexation impartial history will truly state. None have forgotten the activity and restlessness displayed upon the occasion by Mr. Elliott—the British minister. Nor was France cold and apathetic about it. It was supposed that an acknowledgment of Texas' independence by Mexico would be accepted with the condition that Texas should reject annexation to the United States. The experiment was made and failed to secure its object. No, the annexation was not regarded as sectional. National parties were arrayed upon it, and the North and West had as much to do with the matter as the South. The North complains of it at this day! Count the additional tonnage it has added to the shipping list of the Commercial States, and the complaint vanishes into thin air, but when to this you come to add the influence which the country possesses over the affairs of the world for the preservation of its own peace, I indulge the hope that the idea of its being a sectional measure will be banished from the minds of all.

"A similar cry was raised against the acquisition of Louisiana. The produce of the great Northwest, now grown into an empire, which fills the quays and docks of New Orleans, claiming and exciting from its vast amount the wonder and astonishment of all beholders, in order to find its outlet to the Ocean was to pass under formidable batteries belonging to a foreign government, subjected to all the exactions of such government, sooner than any addition should be made to the Southern tier of States. Western interests, Southern interests, national interests, were to be overlooked. A sugar and cotton country was to be lost to the Union under this detestable spirit of sectionalism which has but now reached its acme.

"So also with Florida. However much it might round off our possessions, and however largely it might add to the carrying trade of the North, all was to be disregarded sooner than any addition should be made to the Union of one foot of Southern clime. This may pass at this latter day as American Statesmanship, but it could aspire on no other theatre to a higher station than the rabid working of the fellest demagogueism.

"We come to the next alleged cause of complaint, viz.: the opposition to high tariffs for the building up of Northern manufactures. The most violent opposition and antagonism which the South at this day encounters is admittedly from Massachusetts, and yet when this objection is urged it should not be forgotten that no State in the Union so strenuously and unitedly opposed high

duties in their inception as Massachusetts. But one of her representatives, the Hon. Mr. Mason, voted in favor of the bill, and his constituents of Boston sought another representative. There was nothing which should have excited the slightest feeling of sectionalism in the matter. Large numbers in the Slave States as well as in the Free sustained the policy of high duties, and the leadership of the whole movement was unanimously assigned to Mr. Clay — the representative of a slave-holding State. Large majorities in the greater number of the Free States opposed the leader and his policy, while very many of the Southern States fought gallantly under his banner. No State more resolutely and determinedly opposed him and his policy than the State of Illinois, which has so recently given the highest evidence of enmity to her old confederates in politics.

"If a difference of opinion on a great question of political economy is to sunder the brotherhood of the States, we shall exhibit a spirit of intolerance surpassing that which has ever existed in the history of the race. There is no country wherein the same question is not discussed as fully and as free as it ever was in the United States. England, during the administration of Sir Robert Peel, changed entirely her policy of centuries, from a system of high duties to one approximating in its prominent features to free trade. It is idle, therefore, for the Free States to wage hostilities against the local institutions of the South upon any such ground, and I pass to another objection, having apparently more of substantiality in it.

"In 1819 arose for the first time that contest relative to the Territories which at this day constitutes the greatest grievance under which the country labors. For two years a wild excitement prevailed upon the subject, which was attended by sectional strife of an alarming character. The effort was made by a Free State majority in Congress to inhibit the formation of a State government in Missouri and her admission into the Union except upon the condition of her abolishing slavery. The territory, a part of the Louisiana purchase, had been settled by slave-holders and had attained the number of inhabitants entitling them to change their territorial condition into a State government, but all would not do. The people of Missouri were not to be left free to adopt their own constitution; such seemed to be the unalterable determination of the Free State members who then stood in a majority. They then and there inaugurated that policy in regard to the territories which at this day threatens the destruction of the Union.

"To Mr. Thomas, then a Senator from Illinois, the country is indebted for the panacea, whatever its value, which was finally adopted, which consisted in the admission of Missouri into the Union, coupled with the declaration that slavery should be forever excluded from all territory north of 36° 30′. After repeatedly voting it down the members from the Free States along with many

from the South voted for it and passed it over the heads of eighteen out of the twenty-two, then constituting the Virginia delegation, myself among them, our opposition being uniform throughout and decided to the last. Virginia by that measure compromised away none of her territorial rights, but so far as her voice through her representatives was heard in debate, objected to the proviso as not only unjust but unconstitutional. Virginia therefore had no fetters put upon her future freedom of action in relation to the whole subject. She made no compromise and was bound by none—nor was there, in fact, any compromise made. It was done by sheer stress of voting and nothing else.

"That this was the estimate in which that measure was held by the North is fully manifest by its subsequent course. When Arkansas and afterwards Florida came to seek admission into the circle of States, so far from the Missouri line being recognized, a heavy vote was cast against each State, and, when at a still later day the extension of that line was proposed to be made to the Pacific, the proposition was unhesitatingly rejected, although Mr. Polk, the then President, gave his sanction to the Oregon bill, expressly in recognition of the line established in the case of the Missouri territory. Virginia would most probably have acquiesced in the extension of that line in order to put at rest forever this unhappy dispute.

"In negotiating the annexation of Texas I held it to be no departure from the ground taken by me in the debate on the Missouri question to enter into a stipulation with Texas for a similar division of territory, since the stipulation fell plainly under the treaty-making power. I have nothing to say upon the abrogation of the Missouri line by Congress at a subsequent day. It is enough to say that the movement had its origin in the Free States, was moved and sustained by their prominent politicians, and that the action of the Southern States in regard to it was comparatively passive. It is submitted in all calmness to the Free States to say whether, if that line was just and politic when applied to the Missouri territory, it was equably just and politic when made applicable to all other territory, and yet they renounced it over and over again, when its extension was proposed, and, trampling under their feet their own work of compromise, as they universally called it, made it a great subject of complaint when it was abrogated by act of Congress and since pronounced to be unconstitutional by the nearly unanimous decision of the Supreme Court..

"If there existed a truly fraternal feeling, which, after all, is the only firm cement of Union, there would be no such jealousy manifested as has from time to time been exhibited. The subject of the expansion of our territory would have united all in its behalf and the question of their settlement would have been left to the Governor of the Universe. He seems to have ordained that the man of the Caucasian race should be farmer, husbandman, or mechanic, and to him therefore is assigned the task of laboring under a genial sky and in

a healthy atmosphere, removed from a too fervid sun and its miasmatic influence.

"Climate has long since settled the point of the suitableness of position for the labor of the Caucasian and African races. The African flourishes and multiplies where the Caucasian would perish, and perishes where in his turn the Caucasian flourishes. Climate has expelled the African from the Northern States and has already decided the destinies of the Territories of the United States. Had there never been an interference by the politicians, slavery beyond the presence of mere body-servants, and that most rarely, would not have found its way into any Northwestern Territory, nor to the Territories lying on the Pacific beyond 36° 30′.

"But a few years ago many of the Cotton States and rice and sugar-producing States were in a territorial condition open to settlement not only by citizens of the States of the Union but emigrants from the whole of Europe, and yet the law of climate controlled. This is strikingly illustrated also in the case of the British and French West India Islands. Since the emancipation of the negroes there has existed the greatest demand for laborers in those Islands and the highest prices are offered for labor; and yet the vast stream of emigration sweeps past them and flows into more northern states and territories, as the more suitable homes for the Caucasian race, and Great Britain and France, staggering under their great blunder of emancipation in those Islands, look not to Europe to repair the evils of that blunder, but to regions under the burning zone. They adopt profoundly a system of apprenticeship — in other words, a system under which it is to the interest of the master to exact from the thews and sinews of the poor coolie all that human nature can bear, and quietly write themselves down great philanthropists, unaffected by the sufferings proceeding from the most cruel tyranny that the world has ever witnessed.

"To compare such a system — one of forced labor — to the really patriarchal system which prevails in the Southern States is to commit the greatest blunder. No: we should have had no trouble arising out of the Territorial question if it had been left alone. Nature would have adjusted it for us and God would have been supreme. How great the mischief by the attempt on the part of man to subvert the laws by which the Creator governs the world.

"Of what else has the Free States to complain of the Slave States? What injury has the last done to the first? In what respects have they been injured by Southern men, either in the public administration or in the affairs of individuals? I am aware that some of the Cotton States have denied the privilege of strolling at large in their ports to free negroes employed by Northern ship owners as sailors. Let it be borne in mind that free negroes are to be regarded as *inhabitants* and not as *citizens*. Such has been the decision of the Supreme Court. They are not therefore embraced by the clause of the Constitution which confers immunities and privileges on citizens only.

"But all reflecting men must see that the regulations by the Slave States upon the subject proceed from no unkindness of feeling towards the Free States, but from a sense of their own insecurity against improper interference with their bondsmen. Can anyone recognize in it any other than a regulation of police? Might it not seriously be questioned, whether, considering the large number of white men wanting employment, the sending blacks as seamen to Southern ports is not equivalent to a declaration of enmity against the Southern ports they are designed to visit? Surely, this cannot be sufficient reason to account for the present state of Northern feeling. What would be thought of it, if Southern men should dispatch to Boston or elsewhere, with thorough foreknowledge, a shipload of contagious disease?

"It is none of the causes above recited. I pray to be enlightened upon the real causes of Northern discontent which has so lately exhibited itself in a serried sectional vote. Their newspapers give us from time to time violent ebulitions against Southern men and their institutions. One Senator of the United States boasts that the North has now its feet on the neck of the South and that there they shall remain. Another talks of all men being free and equal, and denounces slavery and the slave-holders. Another announces an irrepressible conflict between the Free States and Slave States, while the cry everywhere is raised of no more Slave States. The North may expand over untold regions, but the fifteen Slave States shall be admitted to no expansion, however great their population may become.

"Several states in violation of the very letter of their compact openly nullify a plain provision of that solemn compact under what they call liberty bills and by other devices, and the governments of the Free States quietly permit the mob, black and white, to violate the constitution and the law passed in pursuance thereof without the slightest effort to restrain them. Nay, still farther, the judges and officers in authority assist by every conceivable means to carry out the acts of the lawless mob.

"Now, why is all this, and from what cause does it proceed? I repeat the question, wherein have the Southern States done injury to the Northern or Northwestern States? Is Northern trade crippled under Southern administration? You have been secured the carrying trade of a continent. Can you estimate its value? Under Southern administrations your fleets of fishing vessels have reaped golden bounties. From the stores of your industry the South draws her supplies for domestic use, and gives you in exchange the rich productions of her soil. Occupying a portion of the greatest prosperity, with a commercial marine equalling that of the greatest maritime nation of the world, abounding in all the blessings of life, what is the cause of Northern disquietude and discontent? Has the existence of African slavery in the Southern States but now become known to you, that your enmity to the South has become so

inveterate? Or are you dissatisfied with the terms and conditions on which and which alone the Union was founded?

"I go into no recital of grievances on either side. It more than suffices that we all comprehend the critical condition of public affairs; sections of the country antagonized to each other; border States, which in the no distant past were scarcely distinguished from each other in their social and political affinities, now bitter in invective, and alien in feeling and opinion — one universal declaration and complaint of rights violated — of a fractured constitution — of punic faith and apprehensions to crush out the rights, liberties and possessions of fifteen States of the Union, to be heard in one section accompanied with all the precursors of change and revolution; while on the other side, the antipathies and antagonisms of many years are crowned with success through the election of a gentleman to the presidency by a purely sectional vote.

"It is useless to dwell on the antecedents of this election. It would tend still further to irritate and inflame both sections. The peril which surrounds us is imminent. Unless the disorders of the political body be arrested its dissolution becomes inevitable. What curative can be resorted to in this great emergency? You are good enough to appeal to me for such suggestions as may occur to me. I timidly adventure the task.

"I look around me in every direction for some conservative principle of action which might restore us to the peace and tranquility which we have lost. I can perceive none in the future action of the federal authorities. I fear from Congress only a repetition of the excited scenes we have witnessed for several years, scenes disgraceful to a body that ought to be the most august upon earth. The recommendations of the executive furnish only a new theme for party invective, and the decisions even of the Supreme Court, elevated as that court is above the throes and convulsions of parties, serve in no degree to still the violent agitations which prevail. It is vain therefore to look to the central government for a remedial measure to correct the fitful fever of the times. My only hope rests with the States themselves. They must originate remedies; they must suggest expedients.

"The Governor of Virginia upon his inauguration recommended an expedient which I wish had been adopted at the time. It would have been in advance of the late election and before the fire had broken out into a flame. A convocation of all the States might have been assembled during the past Summer, and, if no other good had come from that body, certainty as to our destiny as a people would have been distinctly announced. 'Under what king, Bezonian,' would long since have been answered. A state of uncertainty is always a state of unhappiness. I should have hoped that the States thus brought together and confronted face to face would have rallied around the Consti-

tution and renewed their pledges to preserve it inviolate through future generations.

"But the timely occasion was permitted to pass, and it may be now well doubted whether all the majority States in the flush of their recent victory would meet the proposition with becoming promptitude. Nor does it seem to me to be at all probable, even if the convention assembled, that speedy conclusions, now all important, would be arrived at. Nay, in a body so numerous as a convention of all the States, even restricting the number to two members from each State, it may well be doubted whether its conferences would not be more apt to result in exciting debates than in calm and dispassionate deliberation.

"It would seem to me to be better in every view to refer the matters in dispute to the arbitrament of a few of the States than to all. The referees on each side would be the exponents of the feelings and sentiments of all. Their selection might be made by the direct vote of each State upon an immediate call of the Legislature by the Governor of each State, or in a great and pressing emergency, such as now exists, the States which I shall hereafter designate might assume the high province of meeting each other in convention, and upon concurring in their views might urge upon the other States the adoption of their recommendations, to have, when sanctioned by the Constitutional number of the States, the authority and sanction of fundamental and unalterable provisions of the Constitution. I cannot doubt but that as our fathers did before us we could also do.

"If however, agreement became impossible in regard to constitutional guarantees, and separation as the necessary consequence inevitable, which every patriot would deplore, a peaceable separation might be agreed upon, on terms honorable and proper to all. The public creditors might be provided for by each State assuming its due proportion of the public debt, and thus the fidelity of the States to their engagements made in the Union be maintained and preserved. How much better for all, even if peaceable separation was the only alternative, however painful to anticipate such a result, than that war should desolate a land now so happy and prosperous.

"If the Free and Slave States cannot live in harmony together, and that fact be plainly established, does not the dictate of common sense admonish to a separation in peace? Better so than a perpetual state of irritation and ill-feeling. Far better than an unnatural war between the sections. What fruit is to be borne by the adoption of an opposite policy? Grant that the one section shall conquer the other, what reward will be reaped by the victor? The conqueror will walk at every step over smouldering ashes and beneath crumbling columns. States once proud and independent will no longer exist and the glory of the Union will have departed forever. Ruin and desolation will everywhere prevail and the victor's brow, instead of a wreath of glorious evergreen,

such as a patriot hero wears, will be encircled with withered and faded leaves, bedewed with the blood of the child and its mother and the father and the son. The picture is too horrible and revolting to be dwelt upon.

"How different the result of a peaceable separation. All of kindred feeling would not be extinguished. Enough would yet remain to restore friendly relations between the new republics. Joint participations in the glory of the past would cause the one to constitute the other in all matters of trade and intercourse the most favored nation and restore in all things but a common government the relations of good will which seem at this moment to be wanting.

"For the arbitrament of these high matters I think that coterminous States should be selected. There is a perfect appropriateness in this which cannot fail to be seriously felt and acknowledged. Should a violent disruption of the Union take place and civil war ensue, those who have to encounter the severest trials and are destined to endure the very heat of the contest, are the border States. Their voices then should be heard by all their confederates. To them may be committed the task of composing the excitements of the day with the hope that all that justice sanctions, all that the constitution demands, all that the good of the country requires, all that a broad and enlarged statesmanship can achieve, will be done and accomplished by them. But if this cannot be and separation between the sections comes to be the last and only alternative, that such separation will take place in peace, under the pure principles of an enlightened philanthropy.

"I would confine for reasons which will occur to all, the arbitrament to six States on each side, viz.: to New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan on the part of the Free States, and to Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri on the part of the Slave States. I would have Virginia take the initiative, and if by her intercession she could rescue the Union from the danger in which it is, she might well lay claim to the title to which she has aspired of being the great conservative State of the Union. It is a position which she is entitled to occupy. Her sacrifices for the Union, her surrender upon its altar of the magnificent country northwest of the River Ohio, points her out for that high and lofty position, if it is possible for her to occupy it, of the preserver and redeemer of the Union.

"She would, in adopting the proceeding I have suggested, invoke her old friends of New Jersey, where her sons poured out their blood so freely in other days, and of Pennsylvania, whose banners mingled with her own have so often led to success, to meet her in conclave with her own powerful daughters of the Northwest, and the patriotic States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri, and make one effort by their conjoint councils to secure from danger the great modern republic. There is but little doubt that the result, whatever it might be, would meet the sanction of the other States.

"Such are briefly my views which you are at liberty to make such disposition of as you may think proper."

These papers are submitted, with the facts as stated, without comment. Their significance in reference to the biographies of their eminent authors, and their relation to the history of the period in which they were written, will be very variously interpreted. In connection herewith I beg to state the following additional facts:

On the afternoon of July 31, 1863, the Ninth Army Corps left its camp at Sherman's Landing, in the rear of Vicksburg, and started on a march towards Jackson, Mississippi, After several days' march the command took up a position to the north of Jackson, and in the rear of the line the different brigades stacked their knapsacks, leaving a small guard over them. One of these stacks was made by the First Brigade of the Second Division, and a Second Lieutenant named Weigand of the Seventh Rhode Island Volunteers, with two or three more, was left in charge. Stragglers came to this place bringing armfuls of valuable books and reported that the private library of Jefferson Davis had been found in a log-house some miles farther north.

Among these books were two that arrested my attention. They were bound volumes of letter size and about two inches thickness, containing stubs to which which were pasted letters received by Mr. Davis, and his reply, written out with his own hand. These letters were written mostly by Northern men. The only one whose name I remember was Robert C. Winthrop. I was too young and too little acquainted with the names of public men to remember them, but on looking them over I saw that they were of dates immediately preceding the war and expressed the opinions of public men all over the North, with Mr. Davis's reply following on a separate sheet.

I immediately recognized their great value and begged Weigand to allow me to keep them, but although he was given a commission on account of his bravery as color sergeant at the first battle of Fredericksburg, he was seized with a craven fear as he realized that those books had belonged to Mr. Davis. In spite of my protests he burned them up before my eyes. "If dem dam Gorillas catch us mit dem, dey kill ebery dam one of us," said he, as the books vanished in smoke.

Interstate Controversies Arising from Injuries to Commerce, Navigation and Public Health

Famous Legal Conflicts Between American Commonwealths and the Principles Resulting from the Decisions of the Courts Thereon & The Chicago Drainage Canal Suit & Controversy Regarding Wheeling Bridge & Texas Embargo Against Louisiana & Wisconsin and Harbor Improvements at Duluth & Dispute over the Harbor at Savannah, Georgia

BY

GEORGE COWLES LAY

Member of The New Yorl: Historical Society

Y THE Federal Constitution, the States are prohibited from entering into any treaty, alliance or confederation, or any agreement or contract with another State or with a foreign power without consent of Congress and in any case from engaging in war, unless actually invaded or in imminent danger.

The States are thus debarred, in case of disputes, from the remedies of diplomacy or the resort to arms, while acting under the Constitution.

Alexander Hamilton in the *Federalist,* with prophetic insight, anticipated "many other sources, besides interfering claims of boundary, from which bickerings and animosity may spring up among the members of the Union."*

So the history and development of the country have produced many kinds of controversies, which among foreign States might have resulted in wars and treaties, but which have been happily settled by judicial decisions. These disputes have arisen between States as far removed from each other as South Dakota and North Carolina, and as New Hampshire and Louisiana, over liabilities on State bonds, but have chiefly affected adjoining States, whose citizens have been subject to injuries affecting commerce, navigation and public health.

Where the health or material prosperity of inhabitants of a State have been threatened by contamination of its waterways, by diversion or unreasonable use of navigable rivers flowing through several States, by embargoes against passengers and freight in times of epidemic, or by obstructions to commerce, the

* The *Federalist,* Vol. LXXX.

interference of the Supreme Court has been sought in several cases of interest.

The principles governing this class of cases are the same as those regulating the rights and remedies of individuals. The complaining State seeks an injunction against unlawful acts threatened or committed and prays for an abatement of the nuisances, or for the redress of grievances.

I

THE GREAT CHICAGO DRAINAGE CANAL SUIT*

In 1892 the City of Chicago desired to change the disposition of its sewage, which was carried into Lake Michigan, contaminating the water supply and endangering the health of the City.

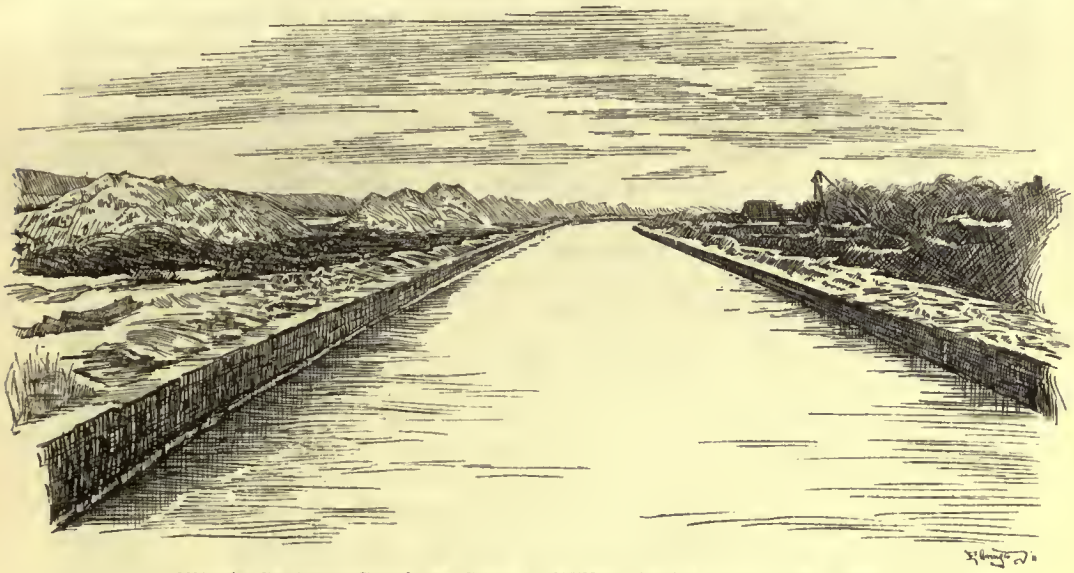
The plan of building a Sanitary Canal from Lake Michigan through the heart of Chicago to Lockport, twenty-eight miles away, and conveying the sewage of Chicago to the Desplaines River and thence by way of the Illinois River to the Mississippi, was adopted and carried into execution.

Illinois passed an act in 1889 creating a corporation called the "Sanitary District of Chicago" and directing the construction of a canal of such grade, size and capacity as to produce and maintain a continuous flow of not less than 30,000 cubic feet of water per minute, of a depth not less than fourteen feet and a current not exceeding three miles an hour. This great work, costing upwards of thirty-four millions of dollars, was commenced in 1892 and completed in 1900. The object to be accomplished was the reversal of the eastward flow of the Chicago River into Lake Michigan and the restoration of what has been called "the ancient western discharge of the Lake into the Desplaines River". The work involved great engineering difficulties and included the erection of controlling works at the southern terminus, the River Diversion Canal to control the Desplaines River, levees to separate the Desplaines Water Shed from the Sanitary Canal and dams and spillways to prevent the water in times of freshets from flooding the whole valley and affecting the artificial channel, which was to receive the waters of Lake Michigan. In accordance with the laws of Illinois, the Governor appointed a Commission to inspect and report the performance of the work. Upon their favorable report, the Governor in January, 1900, issued a proclamation directing the opening of the Canal and thereupon the Trustees of the Sanitary District of Chicago opened the controlling works and permitted the flow of the water of Lake Michigan and the sewage of Chicago into the Desplaines River.

About the time of the completion of the work, in January, 1900, the State of Missouri brought an original suit against the State of Illinois and the Sanitary District of Chicago for an injunction against the operation of the Canal, in the U. S. Supreme Court, alleging that the effect of opening the canal would be to

* Missouri vs. Illinois, 180 U. S., 208.

cause poisonous, unhealthful and noxious matters to flow into the artificial channel, thence into waters within the jurisdiction of the State of Missouri and past the homes of its citizens, polluting the waters of the Mississippi River, rendering it unfit for drinking and domestic uses, destroying the various water works systems of many cities and towns of the State, creating a direct and continuing nuisance, carrying the germs of disease and thus endangering the health and lives of the people.



Illinois Sanitary Canal, as Seen at Willow Springs, Looking West

The State of Illinois and the Sanitary District of Chicago filed demurrers to the bill of complaint.

The Court in overruling the demurrers recognized the importance of the controversy, when a sovereign State complained that a great river was about to be changed " from a pure stream into a polluted and poisonous ditch ".

The question presented was whether the Supreme Court could deal with a situation, alleged to be fraught with the perils of contamination and death, " which, if it arose between independent sovereignties, would lead to war."

The Court, in an opinion by Justice Shiras in January, 1901, sustained its jurisdiction and the cause of action upon the theory that the health and comfort not only of large communities situated on the Mississippi River but of the people of the entire State of Missouri might be seriously affected by the introduction and spread of contagious diseases. Accordingly, the State of Illinois

and the Sanitary District of Chicago were required to answer the bill of complaint.

Their answers were ingenious and not without an element of humor. They admitted that the work involved the diversion of the watershed of the Desplaines Valley but their pleading unintentionally created a diversion of a different sort.

They pleaded that the turning into the Desplaines River of the sewage of Chicago, together with thirty thousand cubic feet per minute of the pure water of Lake Michigan, would greatly improve the waters of the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers and ameliorate former conditions. They declared that the Mississippi River in its majestic course along the borders of Missouri carried with it the sewage of uncounted cities and towns on the banks of the Mississippi, the Missouri and their tributary streams; that the territory drained by these rivers and streams exceeded in extent the vast territory included in the purchase of Louisiana from France in 1807 and that the population of this immense area so drained was in the neighborhood of fifteen millions of people.

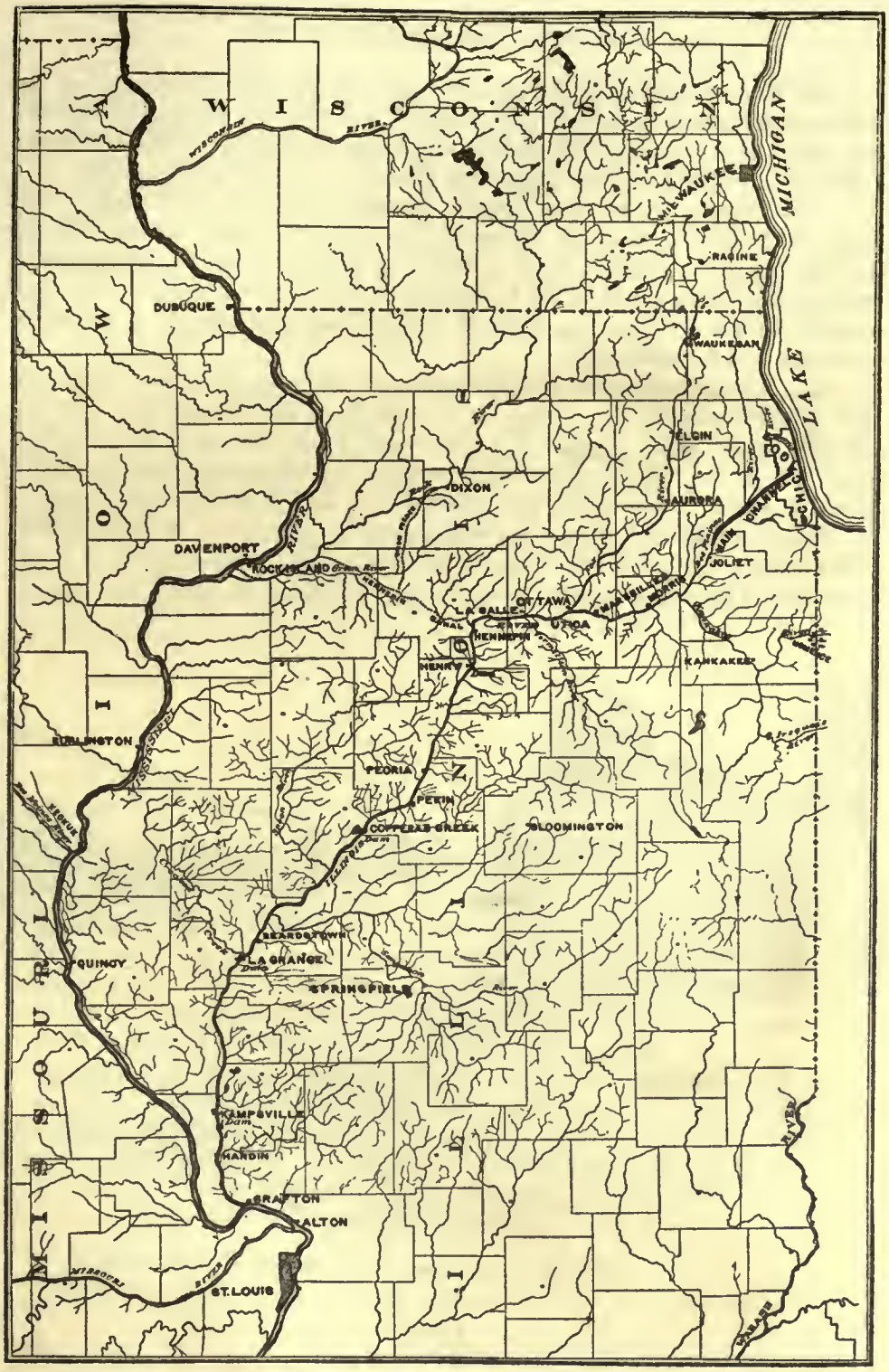
In an exhibit they gave the names and population of more than 300 cities and towns in Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska and the Dakotas, all discharging their sewage and drainage into the Mississippi and its tributaries above St. Louis.

As compared with this enormous accumulation of sewage it was contended that the contribution of the City of Chicago would be insignificant and pass unnoticed, accompanied as it was by the natural flow of thirty cubic feet of the pure water of Lake Michigan to every cubic foot of sewage and the waters of the Mississippi would be vastly improved, *purified and rendered innocuous* to the health and lives of the inhabitants of the State of Missouri. Indeed, it was claimed, that by the natural law relating to sewage and drainage and to running water in large volumes, the sewage is deprived of all its deleterious qualities by evaporation, attrition, lodgment, absorption, chemical conversion and bacteriologic changes, so that in the end the water purifies itself.

In the development of the case, thousands of pages of testimony were taken, expert engineers, eminent physicians and bacteriologists gave their opinions and the case came on for final hearing on the merits in the Supreme Court in January, 1906.*

It was argued on behalf of Missouri that Illinois had no right to divert sewage from the basin prepared by nature for it—by reversing the current of a river—and thereby burdening the people of the Mississippi Valley with the elements of danger to life, health and society, contrary to the plan which nature has devised, that the defendants were trespassers—and had no right in common to use the Mississippi River for any purpose whatever.

* 200 U. S. 496.



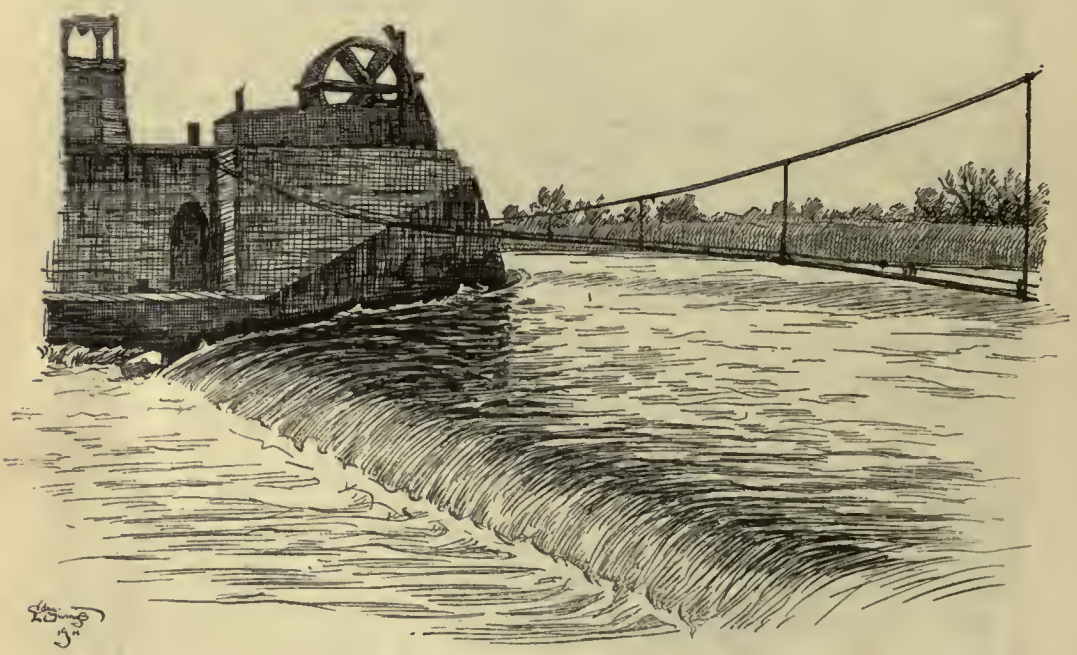
THE WATERWAYS OF ILLINOIS

On the part of Illinois it was contended that the City of Chicago had the power to discharge its sewers into navigable streams and waters and that the nuisance was not made out upon determinate and satisfactory evidence, that the injury was doubtful and the danger not shown to be real and immediate.

The Supreme Court, per Justice Holmes, approached the subject with cautious steps, and expressed reluctance "to decide the matter at one blow by an irrevocable fiat", based upon analogies of grievances between citizens and held that the Court would hardly be justified in declaring void statutes of a State ordaining a great public improvement in every instance where a Court might intervene in a private suit.

The question was one of great international importance the Court intimating that a nuisance might be created by a State upon a navigable river like the Danube, which would amount to a *casus belli* for a state lower down, unless removed. In the case of such a nuisance upon the Mississippi, the controversy would be settled by the more peaceful means of a suit in the Supreme Court.

The Court laid stress upon the acquiescence by Missouri in the discharge of sewage into the Mississippi by various cities and towns along its banks as a circumstance to be considered, just as the courts of England, in view of the national



Bear-Trap Dam, Sanitary Canal, Chicago

importance of their manufacturing industries, instruct juries that in counties where great works are carried on parties cannot stand on extreme rights.*

So the Court held that where the plaintiff deliberately permits discharges similar to those of which it complains, the defendant was justified in demanding the strictest proof that the plaintiff's own conduct does not produce the result.

It was proved that the great volume of pure water from Lake Michigan, which is mixed with the sewage at the start, has improved the Illinois River — formerly it was sluggish and ill-smelling, but it had become a comparatively clear stream again visited by edible fish and that the water was drunk without evil results.

The plantiff's case rested upon inferences of the unseen and depended upon two propositions: first, that typhoid fever had materially increased since the change; and second, that the bacillus of typhoid survived the journey of 357 miles from Chicago to the Mississippi, covering a period varying from eight to eighteen days.

The Court finally refused an injunction on account of the doubt of the threatened injury to health and the inability to prove that the presence or increase of typhoid fever in St. Louis was due to the influx of the waters of the Illinois River into the Mississippi.

II

THE WHEELING BRIDGE CASE

The Belmont Bridge case arose from a conflict between the interests of steamboat navigation and overland transportation. In 1847 the State of Virginia granted a charter to the Wheeling and Belmont Bridge Company, authorizing the construction of a wire suspension bridge over the Ohio River at Wheeling and providing that if the bridge should obstruct navigation it should be treated as a public nuisance. Under this authority the Bridge Company proceeded to erect a highway bridge, from Wheeling to Zane's Island, the highest point of which was about 92 feet above low water; this height, however, was maintained only for a space of 100 feet in the middle of the channel and was gradually reduced to about 64 feet at the extremities of the structure.

It was claimed by Pennsylvania in a suit brought in the United States Supreme Court to abate the nuisance, that the bridge was an obstruction to the navigation of the Ohio River and interfered with the passage of large and swift packets plying between Pittsburgh and Cincinnati, especially when the water was higher than 20 feet over lowwater line. In the time of Spring and Fall floods, the water rose to a height of 30 to 38 feet and the space for the

* St. Helen's Smelting Co. vs. Tipping, 11 H. L. Cases, 612.

† Pennsylvania vs. The Wheeling & Belmont Bridge Co., 13 How. 518; 18 How. 421.

passage of steamers with chimmeys 74 feet high was claimed to be wholly insufficient.

It was shown that by various Acts of Congress the use and navigation of the Ohio was to be at all times free to all citizens of the United States.

The Northwest ordinance of 1787 providing for the government of the territory northwest of the River Ohio was quoted.

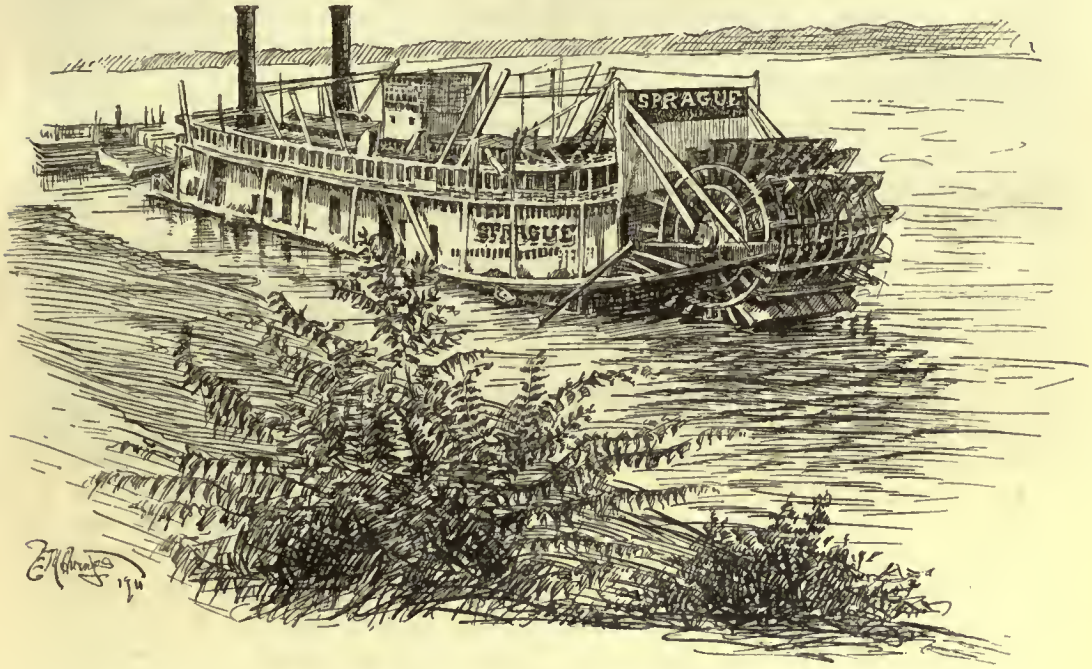
Suspension Bridge over the Ohio River at Wheeling, West Virginia

The fourth article of this famous document provides as follows: "The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways and forever free as well to the inhabitants of the said territory as to the citizens of the United States and those of any other States that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, import or duty whatever."*

It was pointed out that upon the admission of the States bordering upon these waters into the Union similar conditions were imposed and upon the admission of Kentucky as a State in 1789 the navigation of Ohio River was declared to be free and common to the citizens of the United States.

* It is interesting to note that this language is almost identical with that of a resolution offered by Mr. Grayson of Virginia in Congress in May, 1786 (*Journal of Congress*, 1786, p. 637).
Documents Illustrative of American History, p. 248, by Howard W. Preston, 1893.

In the argument of Edwin M. Stanton, Counsel for Pennsylvania, the Ohio was described "as the boundary of six States, its waters draining a large territory of four other States, flowing in a southwest direction from the Allegheny mountains to the Mississippi, presenting to the navigator a broad and placid



THE LARGEST OHIO RIVER TOW-BOAT
On one trip down-stream it carries coal that would fill a freight train eleven miles long.

stream, one thousand miles in length, more free from dangers and obstructions than any other navigable river in the world."

Pennsylvania claimed that she had constructed great public works, such as canals and railroads, stretching East from Pittsburgh, whereby the products of the South and West and of the Pacific Coast were transported to Philadelphia for an Eastern and foreign market, and foreign merchandise and Eastern manufactures were transported by the same channels to Pittsburgh, thence to be carried South and West by steamboats on the Ohio and thence by way of the Mississippi to the Gulf. All this commerce was obstructed by a bridge, which did not admit of the passage of steamboats frequently and without delay and expense.

The Bridge Company answered that the bridge was a connecting link of a great public highway as important as the navigation of the Ohio; that the bridge

was not an appreciable inconvenience to the average class of boats, and that the tall chimneys upon the largest packets might be supplied with hinges or lowered or dispensed with altogether by the use of blowers for a forced draught.

The Supreme Court referred two questions for determination to Hon. Reuben H. Walworth, former Chancellor of New York, as Special Commissioner:

(1) Whether the bridge was an obstruction to the free navigation of the Ohio, and (2) if an obstruction, what alteration should be made to the bridge to facilitate navigation.

The Commissioner reported the bridge to be an obstruction and recommended that the flooring be raised so as to give a level headway at least three hundred feet wide and not less than one hundred and twenty feet above low water.

The Supreme Court held that Pennsylvania had the right to invoke the jurisdiction of the Court, not because its sovereignty was involved but because it had the same interest in protecting its property and redressing its wrongs as an individual, and the only privilege it enjoyed over individuals, due to its dignity as a State, was to bring an original suit in the Supreme Court to abate the nuisance.

The Court then declared that if viaducts for railroads and bridges must be thrown over the Ohio for the accommodation of the numerous and rising cities upon its banks, they should not be so built as materially to obstruct its commerce, and that the bridge in question was a menace to navigation and should be so altered as to provide for a height of one hundred and eleven feet above low water for a distance of three hundred feet over the channel of the river. The Court passed a decree, directing the abatement of the bridge or an alteration as above stated, or the removal of the obstructions in the western channel at the option of the Bridge Company, which was given an opportunity to make the changes or improvements suggested.

This struggle between the steamboat men and the railroads continued for many years and was renewed upon the erection of other bridges over the Ohio and the Mississippi. Tall chimneys were sought to be protected, until it was discovered by a steamboat captain on the Mississippi, who, in order to test the law, ran his steamer at full speed under one of the bridges and broke his chimney in the middle, that while the draft was decreased, the steamer consumed much less coal and by a slight reduction of speed accomplished its voyage with greater economy. He ceased to be an advocate of tall chimneys after this accident.

While the Pennsylvania interests were thus successful in obtaining a decree of the highest court of the land which provided for the removal of the obstructions, Congress interposed and passed an Act in August, 1852, which provided as follows:

THE FIRST STEAMER THAT NAVIGATED THE OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI RIVERS FROM PITTSBURGH TO NEW ORLEANS, ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

RIVER FRONT, PITTSBURGH, SHOWING MODERN METHOD OF NAVIGATION DOWN THE MONONGAHELA, THENCE TO THE OHIO RIVER

MAP OF HARBOR OF DULUTH, MINNESOTA, AND SUPERIOR CITY, WISCONSIN

"That the bridges over the Ohio at Wheeling in the State of Virginia and at Bridgeport in the State of Ohio, abutting on Zane's Island in said river, are hereby declared to be lawful structures in their present positions and elevations and shall be so held and taken to be, anything in the law or laws of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding; and further, that the said bridges be declared to be and are established post roads for the passage of the mails of the United States and that the Wheeling and Belmont Bridge Company are authorized to have and maintain their bridges at their present site and elevation, and the officers and crews of all vessels and boats navigating said river are required to regulate the use of their said vessels and of any pipes or chimneys belonging thereto so as not to interfere with the elevation and construction of said bridges."

A sharp conflict between the legislative and judicial departments of the Government was thus precipitated.

After the Act was passed, the suspension bridge was blown down in a gale of wind and the Company proceeded to reconstruct it, when the State of Pennsylvania applied to the Supreme Court for an injunction, which was granted. The Bridge Company disregarded the injunction and then a motion was made by Pennsylvania for an attachment for contempt, and thus the question of the power of Congress to override a decree of the Supreme Court was presented to that tribunal.* The case affords an admirable instance of the good sense of a majority of the Court in preserving the proper balance between co-ordinate branches of the government and calmly yielding to the constitutional powers of Congress, when it might have been expected that the Court would not have tolerated any interference with its decrees.

Indeed the Court declared that an Act of Congress could not have the effect to annul a judgment of the Court affecting private rights and that had the remedy in the case been an action at law and had a judgment been rendered for money damages the right to these would have passed beyond the power of Congress — such right depending not upon the public right of the free navigation of the river, but upon the judgment of the Court. The Court very frankly stated that the bridge had been declared to be an obstruction to the free navigation of the river in view of previous Acts of Congress, providing that the navigation of the river should be free and common to all citizens, but the subsequent legislation was to be regarded as modifying the former law and although the bridge was still an obstruction in fact it was not so in contemplation of law.

The Court therefore held that after the passage of this Act the bridge was no longer an unlawful obstruction as the right of navigation had been modified by competent authority and that the decree for the abatement of the bridge could not be enforced.

* 18 How. 421.

This case in its final result is of striking interest in emphasizing the paramount power of Congress in matters committed to it under the Constitution and in demonstrating the practical wisdom and admirable self-control of the judicial branch of our government in a peculiar exigency, where the temptation to resist an apparent usurpation of Congress was strong and not easily overcome.

That the powers of Congress are adapted to new conditions and new developments of commerce is well stated by the Supreme Court in another case as follows.†

"The powers thus granted are not confined to the instrumentalities of commerce or the postal service known or in use when the Constitution was adopted, but they keep pace with the progress of the country and adapt themselves to the new developments of time and circumstances. They extend from the horse with its rider to the stage coach, from the sailing vessel to the steamboat, from the coach and the steamboat to the railroad and from the railroad to the telegraph as these new agencies are successively brought into use to meet the demands of increasing population and wealth."

III

EMBARGO AGAINST COMMERCE OF LOUISIANA

In 1899* the attempt was made by the State of Louisiana to prevent an embargo upon passengers and freight placed by the Governor and health officers of the State of Texas, on account of the prevalence of yellow fever in New Orleans. Pursuant to certain quarantine laws of Texas, the Governor and health officer of Texas placed an embargo on all interstate commerce between the City of New Orleans and the State of Texas, prohibiting all common carriers from bringing into the State of Texas any freight or passengers. This quarantine was modified by permitting the entrance into Texas of persons who submitted to ten days' detention at certain quarantine stations, but the Governor and health officer refused to permit the introduction of sulphuric acid in iron drums, unpacked hardware, machinery and other articles coming from New Orleans, and established an absolute and unconditional prohibition of interstate commerce from New Orleans. It was claimed that the effect of the regulations of the health officer was to destroy all interstate commerce of New Orleans and to take away the trade of its merchants and to transfer it to Galveston and other rival business cities of Texas. It was complained that by reason of former embargoes, in 1897 and 1898, the amount of cotton exported through the City of New Orleans had been reduced nearly fifty per cent., and that in the cotton season of 1898-1899, Galveston handled more export cotton than New Orleans, and that the quaran-

* Pensacola Tel. Coi. vs. West. Tel. Coi. 96 U. S. 1.

† Louisiana vs. Texas, 176 U. S., 1.

tine established was nothing less than a commercial war declared against the State of Louisiana, her ports, cities and citizens. Suit was brought in the United States Supreme Court by Louisiana against Texas, her Governor and health officer, for an injunction to prevent the embargo upon interstate commerce. The Supreme Court, however, refused to entertain, but dismissed the suit upon the ground that Louisiana had no actual controversy with Texas, as she was not engaged in interstate commerce, but presented herself in the attitude of *parens patriae,* trustee, guardian or representative of all her citizens, and that the cause of action did not involve any infringement of the powers of the State, or any special injury to her property, but the embargo affected her citizens at large, and particularly the merchants of New Orleans.

It was declared that the Constitution gave no jurisdiction to the Supreme Court to test the constitutionality of local statutes or regulations not affecting the property or powers of another State in its sovereign or corporate capacity, but at most involving the rights of individual citizens engaged in interstate commerce.

IV

WISCONSIN AND HARBOR IMPROVEMENTS AT WISCONSIN

This case* was the outcome of the opposition of the State of Wisconsin to the improvement of the harbor of Duluth, whereby it was claimed that a canal, out across Minnesota Point, diverted the current of the St. Louis River and seriously affected the commerce of Superior City in Wisconsin.

Duluth in the State of Minnesota is situated on the northern shore of Lake Superior near its western extremity, and became and now is the Eastern terminus of the Northern Pacific Railroad. The original approach to Duluth from Lake Superior was around Minnesota Point, a narrow tongue of land from 300 to 800 feet in width, projecting south from Duluth about seven miles and terminating near Superior City.

West of this strip of land is Superior Bay and west of that is another similar bay known as St. Louis Bay, into which the St. Louis River flows.

A current flows from St. Louis River through both of these bays and discharges itself into the main body of Lake Superior at the southern end of Minnesota Point.

A glance at the accompanying map shows the peculiar conformation of the coast line, the strip of land, Superior and St. Louis Bays and the canal cut near Duluth.

The Southern extremity of Minnesota Point formed the entrance to the only safe harbor for vessels within sixty miles, and Superior City was located just at this entrance.

* Wisconsin vs. City of Duluth, 96 U. S., 379.

All vessels bound to and from Duluth had to use this narrow entrance, where the water was hardly deep enough for boats of heavy draught.

In 1871 Duluth, stimulated by the construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad, determined to establish a harbor of her own, and conceived the plan of cutting a canal across the neck of Minnesota Point, near its connection with the main shore. This canal was constructed and used by vessels going to and from Duluth. By this means, vessels could enter Superior Bay close to Duluth as well as through the channel around Minnesota Point.

The canal was made about 250 feet wide and from fifteen to eighteen feet deep and was built by the City and large sums of money were expended in dredging out the harbor to accommodate the large traffic to be brought there by the railroad.

The State of Wisconsin and Superior City looked upon these improvements with jealous eyes, and after Congress had made appropriations in the River and Harbor Bills of 1873, 1875 and 1876, the State instituted this suit to enjoin and restrain the use of the canal and by way of mandatory injunction to compel the City to fill up the canal and restore things to the former condition of nature.

This was based upon the theory that the canal caused a diversion of the current, interrupted the natural flow of the water and seriously interfered with the commerce of Superior City.

Duluth set up the affirmative defense that Congress and the War Department had approved the construction and maintenance of the canal, had taken possession and control of the work, had appropriated and spent money on it, and had adopted this entrance to a safe harbor at the western end of the great system of lake navigation. Other questions were raised, but the Court considered only this affirmative defense, based upon the action of the legislative and executive departments of the government.

The Court held that the Acts of Congress and the action of the War Department in carrying the improvements into effect had recognized the canal as a public work under the system of river, lake and harbor improvements long established in this country and amounted to a "declaration of the Federal Government that we here interpose and assert our power; we take upon ourselves the burden of this improvement which properly belongs to us, and that hereafter this work for the public good is in our hands and subject to our control."

This power of Congress is included in the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, granted by the Federal Constitution, and is sustained as exclusive, when exercised.

The Court therefore declined to give Wisconsin any relief.

V

THE SOUTH CAROLINA AND GEORGIA DISPUTE OVER HARBOR IMPROVEMENTS AT SAVANNAH

In this case,* South Carolina sought an injunction against the obstruction or interruption of the navigation of Savannah River.

In 1874 and 1875 Congress made appropriations for the improvement of Savannah harbor, the mode and details of which were left to the War Department and its Engineers.

Immediately above the City of Savannah, the river, which forms the harbor of the City, is divided by Hutchinson's Island, on each side of which there is a natural channel. The more northerly was known as Back River while that which passes immediately by the City was called Front River.

At the divergence of the two channels — a point known as the "Cross Tides"—a crib dam was erected, the purpose and effect of which was to close the northern Channel to navigation by increasing the flow of water through the southern channel, thus deepening the waterway to the depth of about fifteen feet at low water, adding to the force of the current and more effectually scouring the bed and banks of the river.

South Carolina claimed that the obstruction was illegal upon the following grounds:

(1) That there was a violation of the compact between South Carolina and Georgia, when the boundary between the States was established in 1787, the second article of the compact providing that the "navigation of the Savannah River" from its mouth "along the northwest side of Cockspur Island and up the direct course of the main northern channel along the northern side of Hutchinson's Island opposite the town of Savannah to the upper end of the Island and from thence up the bed or principal stream of the said river to the confluence of River Tugaloo and Keowee should thenceforth be equally free to the citizens of both States."

(2) That though Congress may have the power to remove obstructions in navigable waters, it has no right to place obstructions therein, and thereby impede or destroy navigation.

(3) That closing the channel on the South Carolina side of Hutchinson's Island is a preference given to the ports of Georgia forbidden by that clause of the Federal Constitution which declares that no preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another.

(4) That no authority was in fact given by the Acts of Congress to divert the water from and close the northern channel to navigation.

All these grounds were held untenable by the Supreme Court.

* South Carolina vs. Georgia, 93 U. S., 4.

It was declared that the compact between the States was superseded by the agreement of the States upon the adoption of the Constitution, whereby the power to regulate commerce was delegated to the general government and that this power extended to the control of navigable rivers, which are the public property of the nation and subject to the legislation of Congress.

It was also held that the closing of one channel and compelling the use of the other was not impeding or destroying navigation, that the direct benefit to the port of one State and the indirect injury to the port of another by river and harbor improvements by the erection of lighthouses, breakwaters and jetties were not within the prohibition as to giving preference of one port over another and finally that while the Acts of Congress did not specify the mode of improvements, the War Department was given discretion to adopt any mode best suited to accomplish the improvement contemplated. The bill was accordingly dismissed.

Our Ancestors and Their Homes

Two Prize Essays Written by Public School Children of Bergen County, New Jersey & Practical Studies in Local History by a Boy of Eleven and a Girl a Little Older & An Example of the New Idea in Teaching History as Advocated by The Journal of American History

BY

KATHERINE W. BURR
Of Hasbrouck Heights, New Jersey

and

FRED JARVIS
Of Hackensack, New Jersey

THE of the schools of Bergen County are requested to write of "Our Ancestors and Their Homes." The topic recalls to me what I have heard and read of my great-great-grandfather, who was a person of interest and influence in this town, county and State more than one hundred years ago. The house in which he lived still stands on Main Street, Hackensack, north of the Republican office, and is now occupied by R. H. Gilbert. The names of Dr. Peter Wilson and his wife, Catherine, are cut in the capstones of the first story windows.

He was born in Scotland in 1746. Early his youthful spirit rebelled against the proud assumptions of the landed aristocracy. In the bleak winds his gray-haired father stood humbly before a young and haughty cavalier. "Put on your cap, my father, you will take cold." "But, Oh! It is the Laird, my son, it is the Laird." "But I will find a land where no Laird can lord it over us," and before he was seventeen he had graduated with highest honors from Aberdeen College and emigrated to America.

He taught a grammar school in Hackensack, which was exceedingly flourishing and prosperous. He was very active in arousing and strengthening the feeling of opposition to British aggression. He gave his attention to military drill and spared neither time, strength, nor means in advancing the American Revolution. He was a Christian patriot, fearless and true. After the close of the war he did excellent service in the Legislature, and compiled the work known as "Wilson's Edition of New Jersey Laws."

He refused the nomination for Governor, feeling it interfered with the educational interests to which he was devoting his life. Still the academy

continued and grew. At one time he had seventy students, mostly from abroad. And in this manner he managed to give attention to so many classes. There were a number of young men who wished to study Divinity but had not the means to go to college. He employed them as sub-tutors during the day, then instructed them morning and evening. When he received a call to Erasmus Hall, Flatbush, Long Island, many of his pupils went with him. Later he was appointed Professor of Languages in Columbia College and was in reality President of that institution of learning. He there remained twenty-six years until the infirmities of age recalled him to his Hackensack home.

He lived there, an earnest, patriotic citizen, a noble, Christian gentleman, and died in the year 1826, respected and beloved by all who came in contact with him. A simple slab, in the southwest corner of the grounds connected with the First Reformed Church, marks his last resting-place.

He has three surviving grandsons, one of whom, William S. Harris, resides at New Bridge, in this county. From the fifth generation of his descendants comes up this small voice that calls his memory blest.

KATHERINE W. BURR

I AM a descendant of Thomas Laurence, the youngest of three brothers who came to America in 1625. He with his two brothers obtained a tract of land in Newtown, Long Island, in 1655.

Thomas later bought the whole of Hell Gate Neck, then consisting of several small farms, from Hell Gate to Bowery Bay. On receiving news of the Revolution in England, of 1688, and of the removal of Sir Edmond Andros as Governor of Massachusetts, the family of Thomas became the decided actors in assisting of the principle which had prompted his departure from England.

The descendants of Thomas Laurence (being the Newtown branch of the family) are very numerous, residing in Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and other States in the Union. He died at Newtown, in July, 1703, leaving five sons. But, as I must tell you about my nearer ancestors, would say that Jonathan Laurence, who obtained in 1779 the Ludlow farm at Tappan, Rockland County, New York, was the father of Captain Jonathan Laurence and was one of the commissioners appointed to superintend the building of Fort Washington.

He was a captain in the American Army during the Revolution, taking part in the Battle of Monmouth and was said to be one of Washington's aides.

His first wife was Elizabeth Van Kleek, by whom he had seven children. His second wife was Mary Mann, by whom he had three children.

Captain Jonathan Laurence lived at Palisades (then called Sneden's Landing), Rockland County, New York, opposite Dobbs Ferry, where all his children were born.

The house still stands, is well preserved, and Washington spent one or two nights there. It is quite an historical place. There is a spring nearby called Washington's spring, that he drank from in passing through.

In the library at Palisades (although not like our library) there is on file a Genealogy of the Laurence family.

Jonathan Laurence's son, George, was born January 26, 1799. He married Maria Jaycox of Nyack and they were my mother's grandparents. They had six children.

He entered the grocery business at Palisades, Rockland County, New York, before the Northern Railroad of New Jersey was built.

He went to New York by the way of the Hudson River in a sloop from Sneden's Landing and each one took his own pillow.

His death occurred in January, 1871.

His son, George, was born November 26, 1838, at Palisades, Rockland County, and married Margaret Blauvelt, whose mother's maiden name was Onderdonk. They had nine children, the eldest being my mother, Mrs. Charles G. Jarvis of Hackensack.

My grandfather enlisted in the 22nd Regiment of New Jersey in 1862. He served but nine months, because he was disabled and sent home.

My father, Charles G. Jarvis, is English by birth and came here when a boy and knows little of his ancestors.

FRED JARVIS

WAR VESSELS AT ANCHOR IN THE HUDSON

THE MAYFLOWER PASSING THE WARSHIPS

FIRING A SALUTE

The American Armada on the Hudson River

A Mighty Manifestation of Energy and Expenditure & An Object-Lesson with its Powerful Argument Spurring on the Patriotic American Movement for International Peace

THE latter part of October witnessed the most wonderful Naval display ever seen in American waters. One hundred and two war vessels of the United States sailed into the historic Hudson and cast anchor, their long line of grim strength stretching from Fifty-seventh Street far up the river, beyond Spuyten Duyvil. There were twenty-four battle ships, two armored cruisers, twenty-two destroyers, sixteen torpedo boats, eight submarines, four gunboats, and twenty-six other craft. Never before has the American Navy exhibited such a force, for since the Spanish War our country's power for defence on the seas has increased several hundred fold.

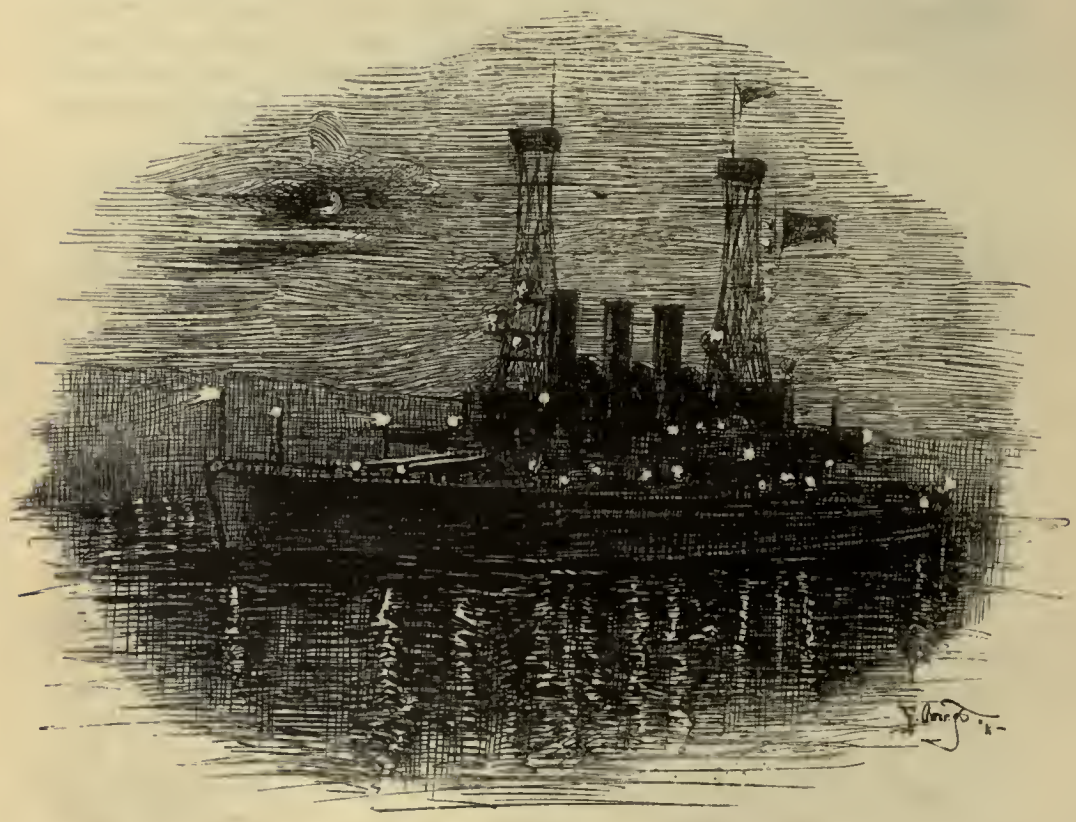
Before the Spanish-American conflict the necessity for Naval defences seemed far-off and fanciful to most Americans. There seemed little chance that any European power would send hostile ships to our Atlantic coast; and the idea of an attack from Asiatic people across the Pacific would have seemed extremely visionary to the average citizen. It is true that Hawaii has belonged to the United States since 1897, and was to a large extent under our influence before its formal annexation. It is also true that we have had a coaling station in Samoa since 1877. But it was not until possession was taken of the Phillipine Islands that the United States became a power in the Pacific.

Strong navies have become of the most vital import to the great nations of the earth, and perhaps the time is not far distant when sea power will be the determining factor in their continued existence, though one would fain see instead the epochal efforts of our President and people for arbitration and peace crowned with success.

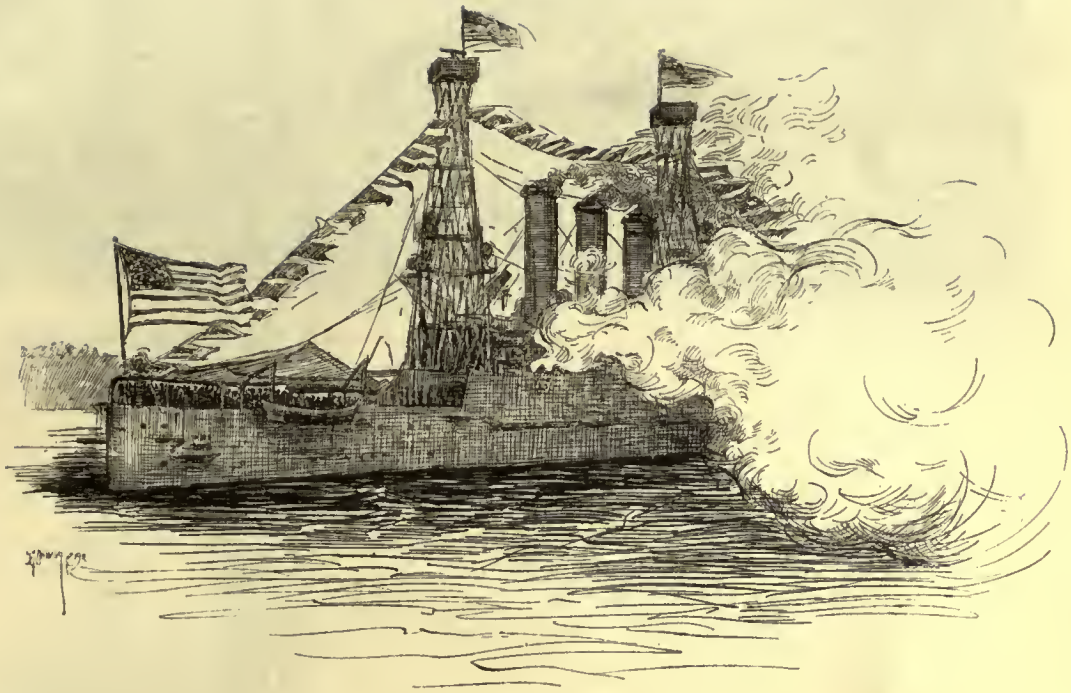
Formidable to laymen appeared the assembled engines of war, with their huge, uncompromising fronts of defiance, the ominous port-holes, through which at an instant's notice volleys of death might pour, and their grim, grey turrets, —watch-towers for defence and for attack. But to those who are looking beyond, into the future, the object-lesson which the ships suggested was the urgent need of the war-diseased and battle-worn kingdoms of this earth for an international tribunal, sustained by the great moral power of a universal desire of the peoples for peace.

Many New York papers commented upon the fact that this assemblage of the ships would be the last showing of the American Navy as the second strongest in the world. Germany is each year devoting far larger appropriations than are we for defence on the seas, and France even is expending more than the United States for this purpose. While fully recognizing the state craft which maintains that a country's army and navy must be kept in a high degree of efficiency so long as aggressors stand ready to attack, yet how much nobler will be America's glory if she may lead in influencing the nations into the ways of peace. Then will she indeed be a world-power.

The ships in the Hudson were a marvelous spectacle of energy. But to Americans, with our traditional love of peace and liberty, the splendid emblazonry of warlike glory upon the sparkling bosom of the most beautiful of American rivers was a pictured warning, a lesson, a spur to the greatest patriotic thought.—*The Editor.*



War Vessel at Night Partially Illuminated



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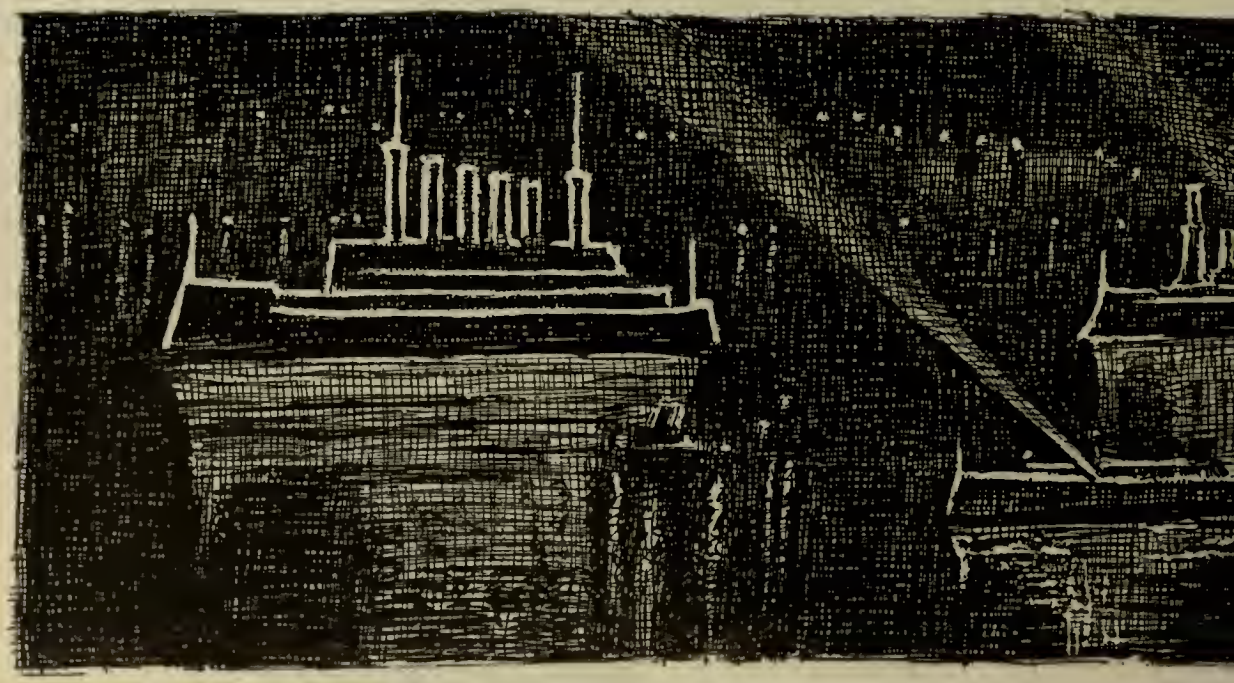

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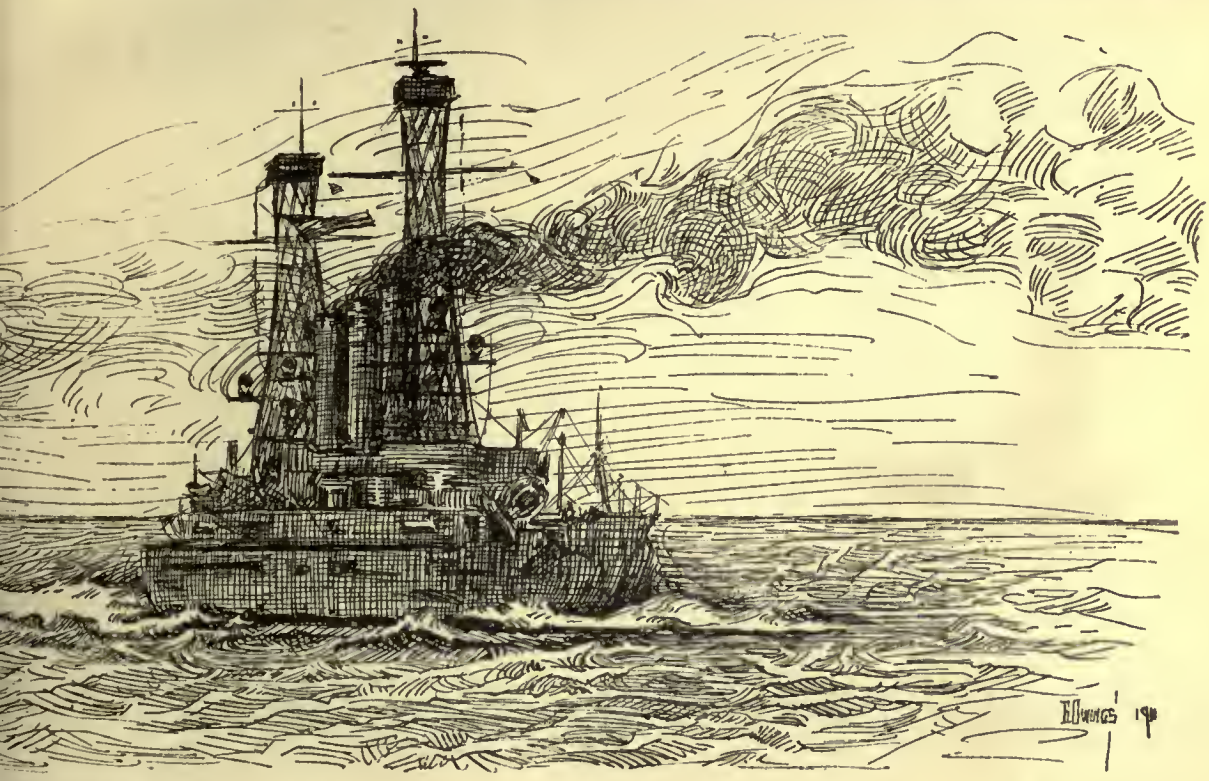
AT NIGHT—THE WARSHIPS A BLAZE OF LIGHT



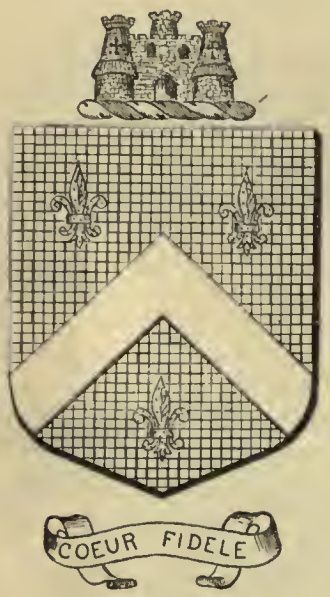
FLEET PASSING OUT TO SEA

Fitzhugh

ARMS OF THE VIRGINIA FITZHUGHS, DESCENDANTS OF COLONEL WILLIAM FITZHUGH, BORN IN BEDFORD, ENGLAND, 1651

Osborne

ARMS OF THE OSBORNE FAMILY OF COUNTY KENT, ENGLAND. JOHN OSBORNE OF LONG ISLAND CAME FROM KENT



HART

ARMS ASCRIBED TO THE HART FAMILY OF MASSACHUSETTS

Pierce

COAT ARMOR BORNE BY FRANKLIN G. PIERCE, PRESIDENT

Our Duty to the Immigrant

Address Delivered before the Connecticut Daughters of the American Revolution at New London, October, 1911

BY

THE HONORABLE TERENCE V. POWDERLY

Chief of the Division of Information, Department of Commerce and Labor

THE accompanying paper by Mr. Powderly, delivered as an address before one of our most active patriotic bodies and sent to The Journal of American History for permanent record, has attracted much attention and some deserved criticism. The criticism has very naturally arisen from Mr. Powderly's unfortunate mistake in first accepting the application to our present immigrants of a term of opprobrium, and then carrying this term back to our colonial forefathers. "We rail against immigration," he says, "and among other counts in the indictment against it, is that much of it is the scum of Europe. My friends, the scum of Europe did not begin to come to us within the last decade, the last score of years, or the last fifty years; it has been coming ever since Columbus discovered us."

To institute a just comparison between the character of immigration in colonial days and that under the Republic, the careful study of a lifetime would not be too great a preparation. Nor would reliable conclusions be possible even then without the perspective of a far-distant time, to learn whether the descendants of the newer immigration had come short of the standard set by the descendants of the original influx. But we ourselves believe that the same Providence that presided over our destiny in colonial days guides it to this hour; that the same Power that brought forth, from the original mixture of races on this continent, a free and brilliant people, can reinvigorate and perfect the race by adding new elements; and that ultimate failure can only come from our own selves, should we despise the material sent us, or neglect to impart to it the same faith and freedom and opportunity bequeathed to us by our pioneer ancestors.

Let Mr. Powderly utterly reject the insult in the term, "scum," as applied to all immigration, present and past alike, and refrain from invidious comparisons or contrasts for which none of us are yet competent, and all thoughtful and patriotic Americans, who hold the doctrine of universal manhood for which our fathers fought, will surely sympathize heartily with his point of view and commend the wholesome doctrine which he here preaches—and which so many of our patriotic societies already are practising in most substantial ways. —*The Editor.*

T HAS always been a habit of mine, in making my way through life, to observe things as I pass and make a mental note of important matters. As many of you know, I was for a number of years the chief officer of the Knights of Labor, an organization that aimed at bettering the condition of mankind in general and workingmen in particular.

I noticed a tendency, at times, to ignore the claims of those outside of the society, and to become so intent on securing our own rights as to forget our duty to others. As time passed on, I observed that men and women in other walks of life did exactly the same. We strove for our rights; we demanded our rights; we clamored for our rights. And while this was all very well in its way, we seldom stopped to consider whether we owed a duty to others. Duty always goes hand in hand with right, and that is as true outside of the labor movement as in it. Just now we Americans, native and naturalized, insist on our right to demand that more drastic laws be passed to exclude many who may now come in after strict trial and due examination. We are clearly within the realm of right in these matters. It is our right to say who may be admitted, and it is very proper that the mentally, morally, and physically imperfect should be denied admission. Then, too, there is no reason why all of this country should be populated in such a hurry. Kipling was more than half right a short time ago when, in warning the Canadians against reciprocity, he said Americans were a people "who by their haste and waste have so dissipated their own resources that even before national middle life they are driven to seek virgin fields for cheaper food and living."

We have grown so fast that in less than one hundred and forty years we have outdistanced all other nations. We have grown so fast and made urban life so attractive that the children of agriculture, in obedience to the call of the city, are deserting the farm to live in the town. The most lamentable feature of it all is that they do not all invade the city to do hard work. They flee from the farm, in many instances, to escape manual toil, and in the hope of making money and living high in the city. Too many Americans frown upon labor — I mean work done with the hands.

Until very recently, say within the last four years, the bulk of our alien arrivals either remained in the port of landing or in close proximity to it. They had been educated to believe that the avenues of toil in the United States led in but four directions: to the city street, the railroad, the factory, or the mine. Of our great agricultural resources they knew little or nothing, and, as a consequence, those who wrote home told of working for a boss in or near a city, instead of working for themselves on the acres where food is grown.

So that in crowding our cities with those who desert the American farm, and with the aliens who were, for the most part, agriculturists in Europe, we

are asked to believe that there are too many people in the United States. Among those who clamor for the exclusion of the alien is the farmer's son, who used to live in the country, but now exists in the city. This fact I would impress upon you: You seldom or never hear a cry coming out of a rural community to restrict immigration because we have too many people or too many workers. When we consider that the farmer who formerly produced on the farm enough to feed himself and family and two other families in the city, is no longer able to produce more than enough to feed his own and one other family, because urban population is growing by leaps and bounds, while rural communities are dwindling away and agricultural labor is difficult to get, we come face to face with a condition that no amount of theorizing will abolish; a condition, the existence of which, to my mind, furnishes the principal reason for the high cost of living which so many attribute either to the trusts, the tariff, the abundance of automobiles, or the carrying off to Europe of so many American millionaire girls by foreign fortune-hunters.

I saw it stated recently that in the best of times about two hundred thousand men are out of work in New York City. The outstretched hand of the idler must be filled by the hand that toils. There is no such thing as the bread of idleness; what the idler eats is the bread of industry furnished by a worker. We hear much about admitting the pauper labor of Europe at our immigrant stations. There is no such thing as pauper labor. Paupers do not labor, and those who come to us from abroad are not paupers; they are workers who come to work, and very often are worked, to their own and our disadvantage. As a people we have not in the past guarded our own rights by doing our duty by the immigrants. We know the way our immigrants should walk: have we pointed it out to them? We have seen them err and go wrong for want of correct information and good advice: have we taken the trouble to give either? We have known for years that the imposition practised upon immigrants by unscrupulous men of their own race, and ours, too, must have caused them to look upon us with suspicion, if not as grafters. What have we done to prevent these impositions? We have known all along, or must have known, that there was good in every immigrant who came to us. What have we done to find and develop the good? What have we done to teach citizenship to the immigrant, that he may know us, our country, our laws, and institutions, as they are?

We rail against immigration to the United States, when everything between the grass and stars, changed from its original form to a thing of use and beauty, is due to immigration.

We rail against immigration, and among other counts in the indictment against it, is that much of it is the scum of Europe. My friends, the scum of Europe did not begin to come to us within the last decade, the last score of years, or the last fifty years; it has been coming ever since Columbus discovered

us. If history tells true, he had some of the scum of Europe among his crew, for they threatened mutiny many times. Up to the minute Columbus landed, this land had been the Red Man's country: ever since that hour necessity, curiosity, oppression, ambition, crime, love, enterprise, greed, conquest, revenge, hate, and fear, and honest effort, have all combined in forming the mosaic of a nation's foundation.

So they came; saint and sinner, robber and robbed, the victim of crime and its perpetrator, the lover and the loved, the hater and the hated, beggar and thief, came they all, and out of it all came good, for jostling against each other they formed a new family and a new nation in a new world. We of the United States are that family, and out of the womb of the old world new births are coming each day, to speed us farther in the giant march, or sprag the wheels of the world's progress in lowering the standard set by those who

> "brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

Every kettle of broth has its scum, and our land, which is the melting-pot of humanity, is receiving a larger number and less scum from Europe than ever before, for we subject those who come to a more exacting scrutiny and severer tests than ever before.

I shall not attempt to lead you out among the branches of the anthropological tree, with a view of studying the ethnology of the races of men who are coming here to write future chapters in the "to be continued" story of the American Republic. Ethnology as a study is useful, beneficial, and illuminating, but it cannot draw aside the veil between us and futurity. I have associated with men of many races, including the North American Indian, have studied the immigration question at close range from many angles, for many years, and am persuaded that environment, precept, and example will have more to do with molding the thought and shaping the ideals of our future Americans than a study of ethnology. If it is true that our early ancestors were apes before branching off into the different races of men, then Celt and Saxon, Latin and Slav, will stand on equal ground in forging ahead right, or an equal chance of going back by their tails on the ultimate tree.

Mark the three words I gave expression to a moment ago: environment, precept, and example. We can easily judge what environment will do by what we have seen it do. Take two young boys of equal age, place one in the cotton field and the other on the Bowery; one will pick cotton; the other will, in all probability, pick pockets, and they may be equally industrious and proficient in the doing. They may be Celt, Saxon, Latin, or Slav, at the start, but in these

environments they will be pretty sure to be pickers of cotton or pockets, for the precept given and example set will largely determine the result.

Just at present, much thought — perhaps I should add, much talk, too — is given to the probable effect of the infusion, through immigration, of so much Latin blood into the current of American life. Some argue that the Latin is not progressive; that he lacks initiative; that he is slow to work and quick to anger. Some Latins are just that way, but not all. Some Saxons are that way, too, but not all. We forget that the Latins were progressive enough, had initiative enough, to make the discovery of a new world almost equal the dawn of creation. Many of the stars we know best were pointed out to us by Latins. In far away Pisa a Latin discovered the pendulum and told us of the world's progress through space. The Latins have enriched our literature, our art, our music; nay, they gave us these precious things. Independence of thought was not lacking among the Latins, else Savonarola would not have died for opinion's sake.

Coming down to our own time, it was a Latin whose God-like voice went out over the deep, into the darkness, with the cry for help from the otherwise doomed passengers on the steamship "Republic" a short time ago, and by Marconigram brought the ships of many flags to the rescue. We charge the Latins with having degenerated. Have a care. What are we doing? We witness the stabbing to death of one Italian by another, and condemn a race for the evil done by one. Next we see a Negro, a wounded, helpless man, who has confessed his crime and is awaiting the process of the law, taken, not from a prison, but a hospital, by a mob of Americans, who take pride in calling themselves descendants of Saxons or Celts, bound to a heap of fence rails, and burned to death and ashes — a method as savage, as brutal and fiendish, as the Indian ever resorted to in torturing his victim. And we make apologies for the doing of it by saying it was all due to race prejudice. There were no Slavs or Latins or immigrants in the mob which offered the burnt offering to ignorance and passion that disgraced our civilization at Coatesville, Pennsylvania.

In Washington there lives an Italian shoemaker, now in jail on a charge of killing a boy by throwing his hammer at him. I have quietly pried the lid off the depository of happenings in the neighborhood where "Tony the Cobbler" had his little shop, and find that the boys of the vicinity used to tease the man by standing in his doorway, making grimaces at him, and calling him names such as "Dago", "Organ-grinder", "Macaroni-eater", etc. Some of them, I was told, used language not adapted to prayer-meeting. It was fun for the boys, no matter what it was for Tony. So far as I am informed, the parents of these children made little or no effort to restrain them from acting as blackguards. Tony had a quick temper. One day a boy, an afflicted child, was sent to Tony's shop to get change for a quarter. This boy stammered, and in doing so worked

his face into contortions. The supposition is that Tony, thinking the poor lad was following the precedent set by others, threw his hammer at him, not intending to kill him. Society will condemn Tony; many will curse the whole Italian race; but a few discerning people will locate the cause of the trouble and attempt to teach our children to respect the rights of the stranger within our gates.

We admit the immigrant, and then abuse him. We expend all our efforts at the port of entry, and once we pass him inward, we take no more heed of him — leave him to his own resources, to be mocked, reviled and snubbed, cheated or robbed. To every one who comes we give a pledge, implied, if not written or spoken; we pledge him "the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Do we mean to keep that pledge and how do we fulfil it? These are very pertinent questions to be asked by all who study immigration and its ramifications. We admit the best, reject the worst. That the "best" may not become "worst" with us, we should give heed to their environment; teach them by precept what American institutions and laws stand for, and set such an example for them to follow as will cause them to become useful citizens of the United States.

This is a land of boundless opportunities for willing, industrious workers; but until recently nothing was done by State or Nation to cause those who come here from Europe to learn anything concerning the products, resources, or physical characteristics of the United States, either in whole or in part. The tide flowed in, principally through the port of New York, and in such volume as to preclude the possibility of teaching newcomers anything concerning our laws, form of government, the necessity for at once learning to speak our language, where men could find employment or land to buy, or what they should do to avoid the traps set for them by hotel runners, money sharks, or exploiters of labor. The stream of immigration should be made to flow through many gates, and at each one it should be halted long enough to tell its constituent parts what I have indicated, and much more.

Our duty to the immigrant, then, is to teach by precept, set a good example for him to follow, and guard him in his environment against contaminating influences. If questioned why we should take such interest in him, we may answer by saying that self-preservation is as much the law of nations as of nature, and, if for no other than a selfish reason, we should endeavor to cause the immigrant to know us and our language, our laws and customs, in the hope that he will aspire to the best in life.

Were I to say no more on coming here than to ask my hearers to read a little book, called a "Guide to the United States for the Immigrant Italian," by John Foster Carr, and published under the auspices of the Connecticut Daughters of the American Revolution, I would have delivered one of the most useful of speeches, one calculated to do more good than anything else that I can think of. While it is intended for Italians, I predict that it will prove invaluable to Ameri-

cans. I would like to place a copy in every home in the United States, for our work for the immigrant must not be confined to the immigrant.

I understand that in a short time the most excellent little book will be published in other languages, among them the Yiddish, and for this you deserve the greatest praise, for no people landing on our shores is deserving of more consideration than the Jews. The inhuman persecutions practised on the Jews by governments with whom we hold treaty relations has turned a vast tide of Jewish immigration toward the United States, and for twenty years these desirable people have been coming to us. For the most part they fled, as our fathers did, from religious and political persecution, and I count their coming to us as a distinct gain. They are sober, peaceful, industrious. While certain Americans rail against the Jews, they do not meet the Jews in the saloons; they must go to our libraries, reading-rooms, and school-houses to find them, for their first ambition on arriving in this country is to become educated in our language, our customs, and governmental system.

When the Spanish-American War broke out, a young Jew, who was not long enough in the United States to become a citizen and could speak English but imperfectly, came to me one day with the request that I help him to enlist. I happened to be acquainted with the enrolling officer on whom he called. His request surprised me, and I asked him why he did not enlist, if he wished to do so. His answer, as near as I can recall it, was: "They say I don't speak good English; but I can understand it, every word. A soldier's duty is to obey orders, to fight and not to talk; I can obey orders and fight. I want to fight for the country that gave me a welcome and a home when I was forced to leave my native land."

That same sense of gratitude and appreciation animates every Jew I know, and I believe it is our duty, as it should be our pleasure, to aid these worthy people to throw off the burdens of centuries, and clothe them with the garments of liberty, justice, and equality they came here to find.

There has been for some years a Jewish removal office in the City of New York. It has worked energetically and well for the removal of the Jews from the seaboard cities to all parts of the United States, practically aiding the work in which the Government is engaged. They, more than any other class, recognize the importance of distributing the immigrants where their helpfulness and labor can do the most good.

The Jews of America strive earnestly, and tax themselves heavily, to keep their people in respectability and above want. You do not find Jews in jails or poorhouses, and we should second the efforts of such worthy citizens by helping them to make good Americans of their co-religionists, who come here from so many lands to be free and untrammeled, to worship God as they please, and to serve the State by leading upright lives.

It has been said that the immigrant works cheaply. Perhaps he does, but not for long. It has been said that the immigrant has driven American labor off the railroads, and from the rougher occupations where muscle is needed. There may be some truth in that; but I incline to the opinion that you cannot hire Americans to work on railroad construction or repairs any more; you cannot induce Americans to practise with pick, shovel, crowbar, or wheelbarrow any more. So, then, this little book I tell you about very aptly and truthfully says that we need the immigrant as much as he needs us. The need is mutual, and we should no longer stand aloof from the immigrant. If he is worthy of admission to our country, he should be made to feel that he is welcomed as a member of our household, and not as an interloper.

No set rule can be laid down for the doing of this. The Sons, as well as the Daughters, of the American Revolution are reaching out to take the immigrant by the hand and lift him to their level. In no better place could the initial step of advancement by the immigrant be taken than in the presence of the descendants of the men and women who gave the Magna Charta its true meaning and interpretation. Our duty to the immigrant is to fulfil our mission as patriotic Americans, by making good Americans of the many who come from afar to make their homes with us.

Colony of MASSACHUSETT'S-BAY, 1776.

WE the Subſcribers, *Do each of us ſeverally for ourſelves, profeſs, teſtify and declare, before* GOD *and the World, that we verily believe that the War, Reſiſtance and Oppoſition in which the* United American Colonies *are now engaged, againſt the Fleets and Armies of* Great-Britain, *is on the Part of the ſaid Colonies, juſt and neceſſary. And we do hereby ſeverally promiſe, covenant and engage, to and with every Perſon of this Colony, who has or ſhall ſubſcribe this Declaration, or another of the ſame Tenor and Words, that we will not, during the ſaid War, directly or indirectly, in any Ways, aid, abet or aſſiſt, any of the Naval or Land Forces of the King of Great-Britain, or any employ'd by him; or ſupply them with any Kind of Proviſions, Military or Naval Stores, or hold any Correſpondence with, or communicate any Intelligence to any of the Officers, Soldiers or Mariners belonging to the ſaid Army or Navy, or inliſt, or procure any others to inliſt into the Land or Sea-Service of Great-Britain, or take up or bear Arms againſt this or either of the* United Colonies, *or undertake to pilot any of the Veſſels belonging to the ſaid Navy, or in any other Way aid or aſſiſt them: But on the contrary, according to our beſt Power and Abilities, will defend by Arms, the* United American Colonies, *and every Part thereof, againſt every hoſtile Attempt of the Fleets and Armies in the Service of Great-Britain, or any of them, according to the Requirements and Directions of the Laws of this Colony that now are, or may hereafter be provided, for the Regulation of the Militia thereof.*

The 38 Name Tiny Man on his hatter
of the Odeans of Tyringham

John Chadwick	Benj Warren	Wm Morgan
Amos Mansfield	William Hale	Matthew Jackson
Giles Jackson	Abijah Morey	Samuel Graves
Joseph Bird	Stephen Taylor	Benj Cross
Joseph Allen	William Beattie	David Brewer
Elijah Warren	Daniel Black	
Joshua Warren	David Allen	
Samuel Wheelock	Ebenezer Chadwick	
Rufus Allen	Isaac Gearfield Jun	
Ezekiel Hewitt	Cornelius Hall	
Nathan Hale	John Hale	
Daniel Markham	Benja Markham	
A S Mansfield	Daniel Markham	
	Parker Underwood	
Thomas Strong Jr	Isaac Gearfield	
Thomas Dorman	Amos Northrup	
David Allen		

AGREEMENT SIGNED BY COLONEL GILES JACKSON AND OTHER PATRIOTS OF TYRINGHAM, MASSACHEUSETTS, TO "DEFEND BY ARMS, THE UNITED AMERICAN COLONIES"

A Morning Report of the Main Guard held at Saratoga
May 8th 1777 — Parole Gates —

Prisoners Names	Crimes	what Regt	what Company	Days Confined	Strength of the Guards
Silas Andrews	On Suspicion of being Unfriendly to the States	—	Capt. Beeber	3 —	1 Lieutenant 2 Sergants — 2 Corporals — 30 privets
Three Prisoners without Names	without Crimes or form of Committment	—	—	—	2 Centuries by Day 10 Do by night

Went the Grand Rounds and found the Guards in good Order and Sentaries Vigalent & Alert.

Giles Jackson Field Officer of the Day

FAC-SIMILE REPORT OF THE OFFICER OF THE DAY WHICH SHOWS THAT COLONEL JACKSON WAS AT SARATOGA IN 1777

Colonel Giles Jackson of the Revolution

An Eminent Jurist of Colonial Massachusetts Who Served His Commonwealth in Civic Affairs and America in Her Great Struggle for Independence & Rare Documents of the Revolutionary Period Handed Down Through His Descendants

BY

JAMES H. JACKSON, M.D.

A Great-Great-Grandson of Colonel Jackson

COLONEL GILES JACKSON was born in Weston, Massachusetts, January 29, 1732. He was the son of John Jackson, born in Cambridge in 1704, who was the son of Lieutenant John Jackson. The latter was the nephew of Richard Jackson, whose land and properties in Cambridge, especially on Brattle Street, he inherited. Lieutenant Jackson came to this country about 1672 to live with his uncle, Richard, and inherit his property.

John Jackson, the father of Colonel Giles, moved with his family in 1750, from the town of Weston, Massachusetts, to Tyringham, Massachusetts, where he was one of the first settlers and a first deacon of the Congregational Church of the town. Giles was one of many children and his father's death in 1757 left on him the responsibility of a large family.

He married, first, Anna, the daughter of Ephraim Thomas of Watertown, Massachusetts, and they had fourteen children. His second wife was Mrs. Orton, a widow, who had five children by her former marriage. Colonel Jackson had six children by his second marriage. The records show that there were twenty-five children in his household, and the house still stands in Tyringham, from which, one winter, he sent sixteen children to the district school every morning.

Colonel Giles Jackson was Associate Judge of the County of Berkshire, a representative from the town of Tyringham at the first Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, held on July 6, 1774, and was again a member of the third Provincial Congress, held May 3, 1775.

There is a legend in the family that he was at the Battle of Bunker Hill and that his regiment was the first to enter Boston after its evacuation by the British, but these legends are not susceptible of proof. He became, however, a soldier in the War of the Revolution early in the conflict, being in the ranks at different times, and becoming first Major of the First Berkshire

Regiment. He received his commission as Major August 1, 1775. Two years later he was promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment, receiving his commission October 11, 1777.

From the fac-simile Report of the Officer of the Day it will be seen he was in Saratoga in May of 1777. He was on Gates' Staff at the Battle of Saratoga and wrote the Articles of Capitulation which Burgoyne signed, a fac-simile of which is seen in connection with this article. This came to his descendants through his youngest son, Charles, with whom he made his home at the time of his death, being handed down through son and grandsons, and is now in the possession of Caleb F. Jackson, a merchant and man of large affairs in Norwalk, Ohio. In some way Colonel Giles retained possession of this precious document, but his descendants, not realizing probably the importance of it, did not preserve it carefully. It has evidently been in contact with moisture and the name of General Gates is faded, although that of Burgoyne may still be seen.

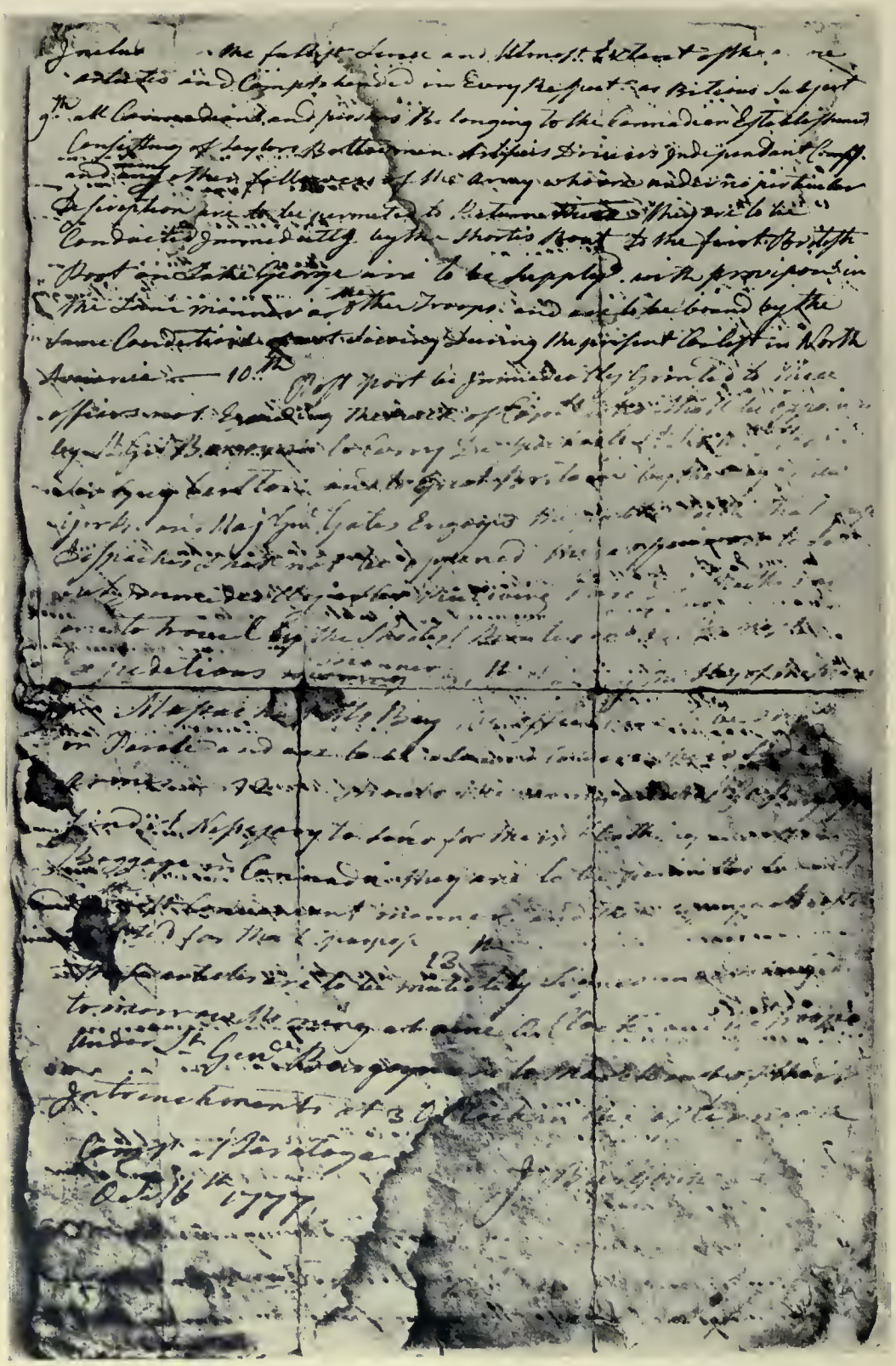
That Colonel Jackson was an ardent patriot is seen by reference to the Agreement entered into by the inhabitants of the town of Tyringham, not to give aid or comfort to the enemy. This was made prior to the Declaration of Independence, and a fac-simile of this patriotic and interesting document is here reproduced.

There has been a tradition in the Jackson family that Colonel Giles was at the Battle of Yorktown and there wrote the Articles of Capitulation that Cornwallis signed. The writer of this article has been greatly interested in the genealogical history of the Jacksons but could never prove this tradition until last year, when, in communication with Caleb F. Jackson of Norwalk, Ohio, he learned that in a branch in England of the Jackson family, descended from Nathan, the fourteenth son of Colonel Giles, there is held the original copy of the surrender at Yorktown. The head of this branch of the family having recently learned of the existence of the original document of the surrender at Saratoga, opened negotiations to become its possessor. As this could not be accomplished, an agreement was entered into for exchange of photographs, and Mr. Caleb F. Jackson of Norwalk, Ohio, has fulfilled his part of the agreement, as evidenced in the fac-simile here offered.

Colonel Giles Jackson died in 1810. He was buried in the old cemetery, then in Tyringham, but now in the town of Monterey.

Articles of Convention Between Lt. Genl. Burgoyne and
Maj. Genl. Gates — Art. 1st. The Troops under
Genl. Burgoyne are to march out of their Camp with the Honour
of war, and the Artillery of the Intrenchments to the Verge of the River
where the old Fort stood, where the Arms and Artillery are to be left
the Arms to be piled by word of Command of their own officers —
Art. 2d. A free passage to be granted to the Army under Lt. Genl. Burgoyne
to Gt. Britain upon condition of not serving again in North America
During the present Contest, and the port of Boston is assigned for the Entry of
Transports to receive the Troops when Ever Genl. How shall so order —
3d. Should any Cartel take place by which the Army under Lt. Gl. Burgoyne
or any part of it may be Exchang'd the forgoing Articles to be Void as far
as such Exchange shall be made —
4th. The Army under Lt. Genl. Burgoyne to March to Massachusetts Bay
by the Easiest most Expeditious and Convenient Route, and to be
Quartered in near as Convenient as possible to Boston that the march
of the Troops may not be Delayed when Transports be Arrived to receive them
5th. The Troops to be Supply'd on their March and During their being in
Quarters with provision by Gen. Gates's order at the same Rate of Ration
the Troops of his own Army, and if possible the Officers horses & Cattle
to be Supply'd at the Usual Rate —
All officers to Retain their Carriages Bat. horses & other Cattle. no
Baggage to be Molested or Sarch'd. Lt. Genl. Burgoyne Giving his honour
that no publick Stores are Secreted therein. Maj. Genl. Gates will of Course
take the necessary measures for the due performance of this Article. Should
any Carriages be Wanting During the March of the Transportation of officers
Baggage they are if possible to be Supply'd by the Country at the
Usual Rate —
7th. upon the March and During the time the Army shall Remain in
Quarters in the Massachusetts Bay the officers are not as far as
Circumstances will admit to be Separated from their men, the
Officers are to be Quartered According to Rank and are Not to be
hindered from Assembling their men for Roll Call'g and other
purposes of Regularity —
8th. All Corps whatever of Genl. Burgoyne's Army whether Composed
of Saylors Boteman Artificers Drivers Drivers Independent
Companys and Sallors of the Army of whom Ever Country shall be
Included

FAC-SIMILE PAGE OF THE ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION, WRITTEN BY COLONEL GILES JACKSON AND SIGNED BY BURGOYNE



ANOTHER FAC-SIMILE PAGE OF THE BURGOYNE ARTICLES OF CAPITULATON

THE COLONEL GILES JACKSON MONUMENT AT TYRINGHAM, NOW MONTEREY, MASSACHUSETTS

THE HOME OF COLONEL GILES JACKSON AT MONTEREY, FORMERLY TYRINGHAM, MASACHUSETTS

To his Excellency Benning Wentworth Esqr.
Capt. General and Commander in chief in and
over his Majesties Province of New Hampshire
The Honourable his Majesties Council and General
Assembly now setting in Portsmouth.

The Memorial of Eleazar Wheelock of Lebanon
In the Colony of Connecticut humbly Sheweth —
That In Consideration of the pitteous, & perishing State of
vast Numbers of Pagans on this Continent, and the great
obligations lying upon us to spread the Knowledge of the
only true God, and Saviour Jesus Christ among them, the
many and great Advantages thereby to the Crown of great
Britain, and especially the great Importance of it to the Peace
and Safety of his Majesties Subjects in these Colonies. And also
in Consideration that the great Design proposed might be most
successfully pursued by taking of their own Children to School
among ourselves, and fitting them for Missionaries & Interpre-
-ters in order to communicate the most useful and Necessary
Knowledge to their Several Tribes in their Own Language.
And also being incouraged hereto by the Success of past En-
-deavours in the Education of the Revd. Mr. Occom (an Indian)
who has some Years been imployed by the Honle. London
Commissioners in Boston, and the last Year did worthily
as a Missionary among the Six Nations,

About Seven Years ago, I took two Boys of the Dela-
-ware Tribe, one of which when they were near fit for
College died, the other [illegible] promising Youth in
his third Year at New Jersie College. And my School
has been increasing since, so that I have now twelve who
have been and are supported only by the Charities of Gods
People. And such has been the Countenance and Assistances
granted by Gentlemen of Note at home and abroad,
whereby I have been enabled to bear the Weight of Charge
hitherto, and such the Prospect of the Success of the Under-
-taking that I have been encouraged, still to increase their
Number and expect that Six more of the Six Nations will
be very soon added to them, all of whom depend only upon
the Charity of the christian World for their Support.

And because it is a Work that belongs to thousands and to
all according to their Ability, I am induced and imboldned
to make Application to Your Excellency and Your Honours,
and pray for such Help and Assistance in carrying on the
Design as You shall find Your Hearts disposed to, and in
Your great Wisdom shall see fit to afford.

And Your Humble Petitioner as in Duty bound
Shall ever pray.

Dated Portsmouth June 4. 1762 Eleazar Wheelock

FAC-SIMILE OF LETTER FROM REVEREND ELEAZAR WHEELOCK TO GOVERNOR BENNING WENTWORTH OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Indian Schools in Colonial Days

Early Attempts to Educate Indian Children in New York, Virginia, Massachusetts and Connecticut, Henricus College, the Boyle School, Eliot's Work, Harvard's Indian College, the Work of Wheelock, and the Founding of Dartmouth College

BY

FLORENCE L. FERRIS

Mayville, New York

THE AMERICAN INDIAN, now the ward of the nation, was once the pupil of the colonies. When our Atlantic States were covered with trees, when the towns of the settlers were mere clearings in the forests, and the Indian dwelt around and among them, the question whether he should be conquered or civilized was seriously argued. To an effort toward the latter, many men gave their careful attention, laboring, they and their subordinates, for the education and improvement of the race they were displacing. The story of what was attempted may be gathered from the letters of colonial governors, records of early colleges, and tracts of ministers. Pieced together, it shows a continuous and conscientious attempt to train the younger generation of red men. The story reveals the zeal of the missionary, the obstacles he met, and the latent powers of the race he sought to civilize.

The Province of New York, more than any other colony, realized the value of trade with the Indians. This may have been because of the strength of its spirit of commercialism, or because of the advantage given by its waterways, the Hudson and the Mohawk rivers. The French in Canada had long known that money was to be obtained by trade with the natives and diligently sought means to increase it. The leaders of New France, when unaided by the Jesuits, were not notably successful in making friends with the powerful tribes near the Great Lakes, but with Jesuit assistance there was fair prospect of the formation of an alliance which the leaders of New York, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, desired to forestall. No William Johnson was then in the country to keep the chain of friendship with the Five Nations bright. The Governor of New York was an inadequate substitute for Johnson, but at least he pushed the matter in official letters, advocating schools and missions among the red men. "To oblige them to the interests of England and also save their souls," he frankly puts it in a letter to the Lords of Trade. We may hazard a guess as to which was more important in his eyes.

Before this time the Commissioners of Albany had petitioned Governor Dongan to send ministers among the Indians to draw their trade away from the French; and Robert Livingston had asked the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to build a house and chapel at each Indian castle, and to send six ministers, one to each of the Five Nations and one to the River Indians, and to provide for each minister a youth to wait upon him and learn his language. Adding the salaries of the ministers to the cost of the houses and chapels, it will be seen that the expense would have been considerable, and the Society refused to pay anything but the salaries of two men.

The money problem acted as a drawback on the heathen side, too, as the sachems of the Five Nations once told the English that as soon as goods were cheaper, (the traders' prices were exorbitant,) they would consult about having a Christian minister in their castles to instruct them in the faith; for then they could have coats to wear and not go to church in bearskins.

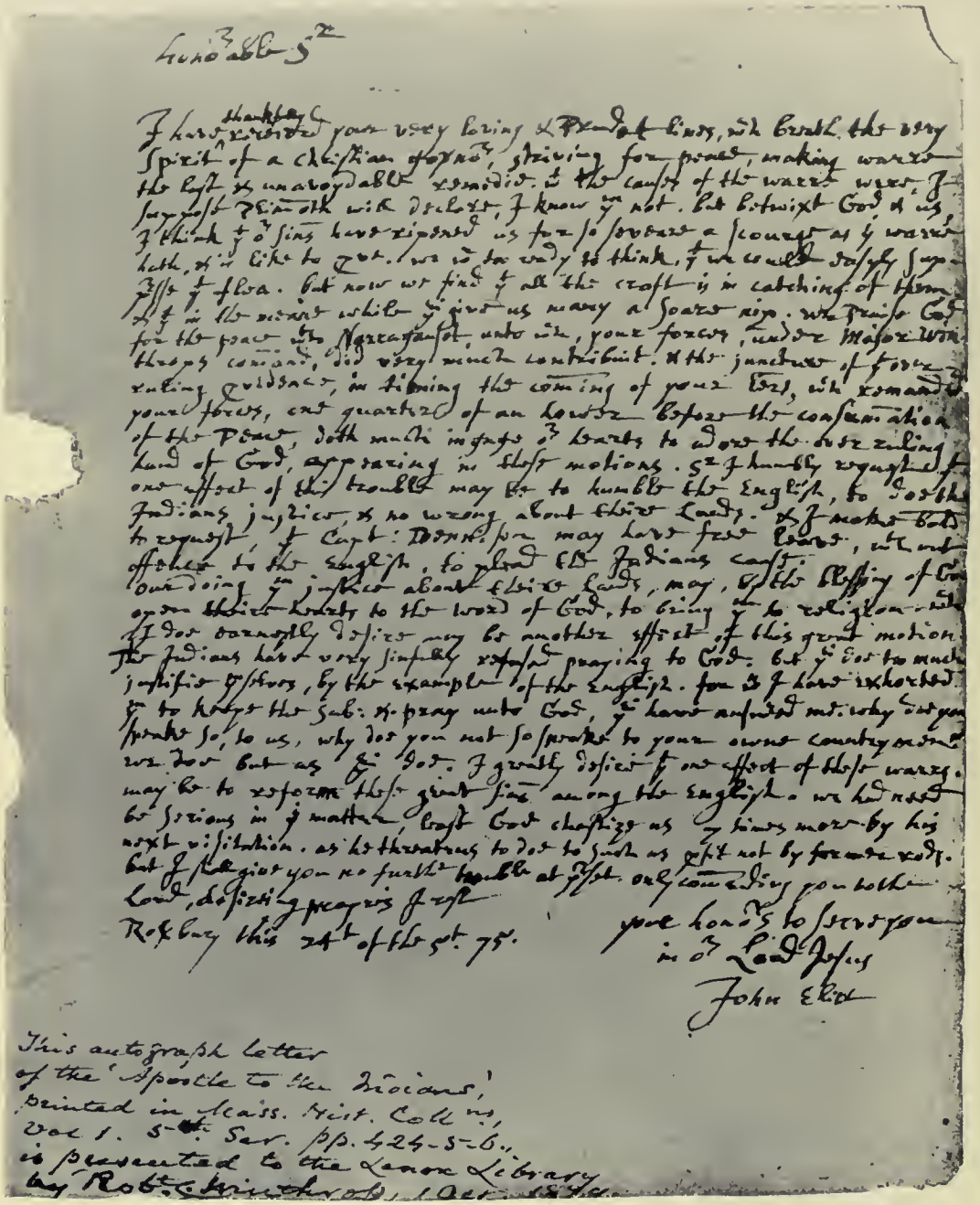
Earl Bellomont was wise enough to see that it would be cheaper to have Indian boys come to English towns for instruction than to send teachers to them, and at an Albany conference he invited the Indians to send three or four sachems' sons to New York to school. He told them it would be a comfort to them to have the Bible read to them by their children when translated into their own tongue. The Indians answered that they could not do this, because their wives were the sole disposers of their children until they came of age. A similar polite refusal was given forty years later to the Commissioners of Virginia, as recorded in "Colden's History of the Five Nations." Said the Commissioners:

"Our friend, Conrad Weiser, (Interpreter) when he is old will go into the other world, as our fathers have done; our children will then want such a friend to go between them and your children that, like him, may have the ears and tongues of our children and yours.

"The way to have such a friend is for you to send three or four of your boys to Virginia, where we have a fine house for them to live in, and a man on purpose to teach the children of you, our friends, the religion, language and customs of the white people. To this place we kindly invite you to send some of your children; and we promise you they shall have the same care taken of them and instructed in the same manner as our own children, and be returned to you again when you please; and to confirm this we give you this String of Wampum."

The house referred to was Brafferton School, at William and Mary College, erected and endowed by Sir Robert Boyle. The building still stands in Duke of Gloucester Street, Williamsburg. It is built of bricks, alternate gray and red, one of the very oldest buildings in the United States.

PORTRAIT OF HONORABLE ROBERT BOYLE FROM AN OLD PRINT IN THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY



Honorable Sr

I have thankfully received your very loving & prudent lines, wch breath the very spirit of a christian governor, striving for peace, making warre the last & unavoydable remedie. wt the causes of the warre were, I suppose Prim'oth will declare, I know ye not. but betwixt God & us, I think ye ordinary sins have ripened us for so severe a scourge as ye warre hath, & is like to prove. we wt to ready to think, ye we could easily suppresse ye flea. but now we find ye all the craft is in catching of them & ye in the meane while ye give us many a soare nip. we praise God for the peace wth Narragansett, unto wch, your forces, under Major Winthrops comand, did very much contribuit. & the juncture of ye over ruling providence, in timing the coming of your lers, wch remanded your forces, one quarter of an howre before the consummation of the Peace, doth much ingage our hearts to adore the over ruling hand of God, appearing in these motions. Sr I humbly request ye one effect of this trouble may be to humble the English, to doe the Indians justice, & no wrong about their Lands. & I make bold to request, ye Capt: Denison may have free leave, wth out offence to the English, to plead the Indians cause. our doing ye justice about their Lands, may, by the blessing of God open their hearts to the word of God, to bring ye to religion. wch I doe earnestly desire may be another effect of this great motion. The Indians have very sinfully refused praying to God. but ye doe too much justifie yrselves, by the example of the English. for wt I have exhorted ye to keepe the sab: & pray unto God, ye have answered me. why doe you speake so, to us, why doe you not so speake to your owne countrymen? we doe but as ye doe. I greatly desire ye one effect of these warres may be to reform these great sins among the English. we had need be serious in ye matter, least God chastize us 7 times more by his next visitation. as he threatens to doe to such as profit not by former rods. but I shall give you no further trouble at yrset. only commending you to the Lord, desiring prayers I rest

Roxbury this 24t of the 5t. 75.

your honors to serve you in our Lord Jesus

John Eliot

This autograph letter of the 'Apostle to the Indians', printed in Mass. Hist. Coll'ns, Vol 1. 5th Ser. pp. 424-5-6., is presented to the Lenox Library by Robt. C. Winthrop, 1 Oct. 18[illegible]

FAC-SIMILE OF AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF JOHN ELIOT, THE APOSTLE TO THE AMERICAN INDIANS

In accordance with their customs the Indians took a night to deliberate on the invitation and returned answer the next day, as follows:

"Brother Assaragoa:—You told us likewise that you had a great house provided for the education of youth, and invited us to send some of our children amongst you.

"We must let you know that we love our Children too well to send them so great a way, and the Indians are not inclined to give their Children Learning. We allow it to be good, and we thank you for your invitation, but our customs differing from yours, you will be so good as to excuse us. We hope Tarachawagou (Weiser) will be preserved by the Good Spirit to a good old age: while he lives there is no room to complain. In Token of our Thankfulness for your Invitation we gave you this String of Wampum."

In Virginia trade was not the only motive in the establishment of schools; there was genuine zeal for the improvement of the native race. Preachers in England had reminded the first colonists, as they were about to sail, of their duty to the heathen. The earliest plan of any University in America was that of one to be founded at Henricus, Virginia. The first legislative assembly in America, meeting in Virginia, enacted a law that each town and borough should educate a certain number of Indian children so that they should be fitted for the college intended for them. Ten thousand acres of land were set aside for this college, and several hundred pounds raised for its support. Henricus grew to be a city of three streets containing, besides the homes of the settlers, the Indian College building, store-house, church and watch-houses. There was insufficient protection against the savages and a wholesale massacre occurred in 1622. The whole project died before any pupils had been received and the feeling against the natives was so bitter that for seventy-five years there was no noteworthy attempt in Virginia to educate them.

Then a courageous leader arose, able and influential enough to keep the matter before the public. Alexander Spotswood, Governor from 1710 to 1722, put his whole heart into the work. He had a school at Christ-Anna, so called at first, which the good man evidently enjoyed visiting, dressed, in the finery of a Virginia gentleman of those days and attended by all the pomp of Colonial Governor. The sixty dusky youths were in their best attire when he came, feathers in their hair and ears, faces painted, and wearing blankets. They recited the Creed and the Lord's Prayer for the patron. The children were a well-trained lot, giving great satisfaction to the visitors by their good manners, progress in reading and writing, and contentment in their new position. One pupil was the Queen of one of the Nations, a little girl of ten who died there. The schoolhouse had been given by the Indian Company, which had been granted a monopoly of the Indian trade for twenty years, while the salary of the master

was allowed, and possibly paid personally, by the Governor. How Governor Spotswood sometimes recruited the ranks of pupils may be told as follows:

April 19, 1717, on the southern frontier of Virginia a party of Tuscarora Indians was encamped—if it could be called an encampment, when they had given up their arms to the commandant of the English fort, trusting to the protection of the Governor of Virginia. Eleven or more children were in the party. The visit of the Tuscaroras to the borders of the English settlement was due to their desire to assure their friends, the white men, that they had no part in the massacre in North Carolina in which their kinsmen of the same name had so cruelly murdered some settlers. The Governor thoroughly believed their assurances of fidelity, but demanded children as hostages in order to grind the axe he always carried—this axe being his dearest project—the educating and Christianizing of the red men. The Tuscaroras had agreed to give up two children of the great men of each town to the English to be educated by them, and were now outside the fort at Christianna to fulfil the promise.

Before daybreak there came upon them a number of Seneca Indians, members of the terrible Five Nations, who had a most vexatious habit of breaking their promise to Corlear—their name for the Governor of New York—and making occasional raids in small numbers upon the outlying settlements of Pennsylvania or Maryland or even Virginia. At conferences with the officials of the Province of New York the sachems would explain this violation of the treaty, disclaiming responsibility for the regrettable outburst of their young men, and give a belt of wampum or a beaver skin with their promise to punish the offenders and prevent future outbreaks; but some governor of a neighboring colony would have a similar complaint to forward to the next conference.

Now the Tuscaroras, who had come to Christianna on a mission of peace, fell victims to one of these raids and lost many in killed and captured. Not unnaturally those who escaped suspected the English of treachery. Many presents were given to the Tuscaroras and many pacific speeches made to them before they were convinced that the English had not given the Senecas information of their presence there and of their unarmed condition. A full day was required for this difficult task, but at the end of it eleven boys and girls were committed to the Governor's care and placed by him in the school at Christianna. There they were under the charge of the Rev. Charles Griffin, and learned in time to say the Creed and Lord's Prayer with the rest, a fact worthy of mention in Spotswood's letters to London.

Politics caused the downfall of the school, and it came about in this wise. The fort, which was the protection of the three or four hundred Indians living there and possibly one of the buildings used by the school, burned down. The Indian Company agreed to rebuild. One day the House of Burgesses passed a law rescinding the privileges of the Indian Company, which would have rebuilt,

THE NEW

TESTAMENT

OF OUR

LORD AND SAVIOUR

JESUS CHRIST.

Translated into the

INDIAN LANGUAGE,

AND

Ordered to be Printed by the *Commissioners of the United Colonies* in *NEW-ENGLAND*,

At the Charge, and with the Consent of the

CORPORATION IN *ENGLAND*

For the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians in *New-England.*

CAMBRIDG:

Printed by *Samuel Green* and *Marmaduke Johnson.*

MDCLXI.

FAC-SIMILE OF TITLE PAGE OF THE FIRST EDITION OF THE INDIAN NEW TESTAMENT USED BY JOHN ELIOT

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and at the same time refused to rebuild at the expense of the province. Governor Spotswood's grief was real, and his exasperation no less than on those other occasions when he and the Burgesses had differed and the latter won; but the school at Christianna depended on the fort for protection and had to be closed.

At William and Mary College Indian education went on, attended only by difficulty in procuring students. Spotswood is authority for the statement that the Governors of the College went to the expense of buying four Indians of remote nations captured in war, in order to educate them in pursuance of the donation left by Robert Boyle. He himself promised to remit the yearly tribute of skins due from the Tributary Indians to the Governor as long as they kept their children in attendance at the College. Fearing lest his successors in office would not approve this reduction of their revenue, but would restore the custom of tribute at a loss to the cause of education, he wrote to the Bishop of London about it and suggested his getting Her Majesty's sanction to his course. Twenty seems to be the largest number there at any one time, and for their use Brafferton School was built in 1723.

We must go to New England to find lasting zeal for the minds and souls of the Indians. No great massacre interrupted their work; it is doubtful if John Eliot, "Apostle to the Indians," would have turned aside for one. He first learned the Indian tongue from a "pregnant-witted young man" who had been taken prisoner and put to service, and by 1646 Eliot could preach to the Indians in their own language. The General Court of Massachusetts, which had earlier stated that "one end of the planting of these parts was to propagate the true religion unto the Indians," encouraged their advance toward independence and civilization by authorizing the sachems to try small cases, civil and criminal, and building of a meeting house for the education of their poorer children by the advice of the said John Eliot."

So great was the interest aroused in England by the report of Eliot's work that in 1649 Parliament passed an ordinance for the promoting and propagating of the Gospel in New England. It constituted a corporation in London with authority to hold property and make collections for pious undertakings, including the maintenance of schools and nurseries of learning for the education of the children of the Indians. This is referred to in the accounts of its work as "The Corporation." This Corporation built an Indian College at Harvard, "of fabricke of bricke," in 1685, at an expense of from three to four hundred pounds. One Indian there got so far in his studies as to receive the degree of Bachelor of Arts; the next to be ready to commence his studies for a degree was murdered at Nantucket. The college would accommodate about twenty, but eight is the largest number there at one time, so far as we know.

In order to fit boys for the college there were schools in the towns of the Praying Indians, as converts were called. By 1664 there were six of these towns.

MAMUSSE

WUNNEETUPANATAMWE

UP-BIBLUM GOD

NANEESWE

NUKKONE TESTAMENT

KAH WONK

WUSKU TESTAMENT.

Ne quoſhkinnumuk naſhpe Wuttinneumoh *CHRIST* noh aſoowelit.

JOHN ELIOT.

CAMBRIDGE:

Printeuoop naſhpe *Samuel Green* kah *Marmaduke Johnſon.*

1 6 6 3.

TITLE PAGE OF THE FIRST EDITION OF THE COMPLETE BIBLE IN THE INDIAN TONGUE ISSUED BY JOHN ELIOT

The instruction in the schools was rudimentary, which is probably the reason we have such slight accounts of them. That these pupils made progress we must believe from the figures given by Gookin 1674. Of the six or seven hundred Praying Indians belonging to Plymouth, he states that one hundred and forty-two (about twenty per cent.) could read their own language, seventy-two could write it, and nine could read English. This, after barely twenty years labor by the zealous ministers of Massachusetts.

A little later than this the Boston Latin School provided that Indian children should be taught free. Higher education made so little progress, however, that the Indian College building at Harvard was used for other purposes within a few years after its erection. Eliot's translation of the Bible into the Indian tongue—a work which attracted the attention of the English-speaking world—was printed in this building. If its fruits had been commensurate with the labor it involved, or if the tribes for whom it was designed had survived in numbers and power, this translation would rank as one of the important literary achievements of that century. Portions of the Bible were printed in 1659, and the first complete edition finished in 1663. The Corporation provided funds for the work and sent a printer from England to assist. There was also an Indian printer, an apprentice when the first edition was made, and a compositor on the second edition, which was made necessary by the Pequot wars in which many of the copies were destroyed. Some have supposed that this Bible was a literary curiosity which few were able to read, but J. H. Trumbull an authority on this book, says: "The condition of the copies which have been preserved to our time shows that the Bibles had been diligently studied."

After Eliot's death, and the retirement of Spotswood as Governor of Virginia, the interest in Indian education is transferred to Connecticut, where there were schools among the Mohegan Indians. It was a Mohegan school in that Colony which gave the children a dinner of bread daily in order to get them to come. The plan worked well, for those particular Indians were very poor and often half-starved. The teacher of this school was the fore-runner, by nearly two hundred years, of those philanthropists in some of our cities who serve breakfasts to the poor children in the public schools.

Samuel Occum was one of this tribe who had received the rudiments of an education in these elementary schools. One day in December, 1743, he appeared at the home of the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, in Lebanon, Conn., and asked to be admitted as a pupil. Mr. Wheelock, like many ministers of his time, added to his income by receiving young men into his home and preparing them for college. He taught Occum for two or three years, doing it so well that the latter was qualified in 1749, to be a schoolmaster and missionary among his own people, at Montauk, Long Island, and was ordained to the ministry by the presbytery of Suffolk. He was chosen later to go to England to represent the cause of edu-

FROM AN OLD MEZZOTINT

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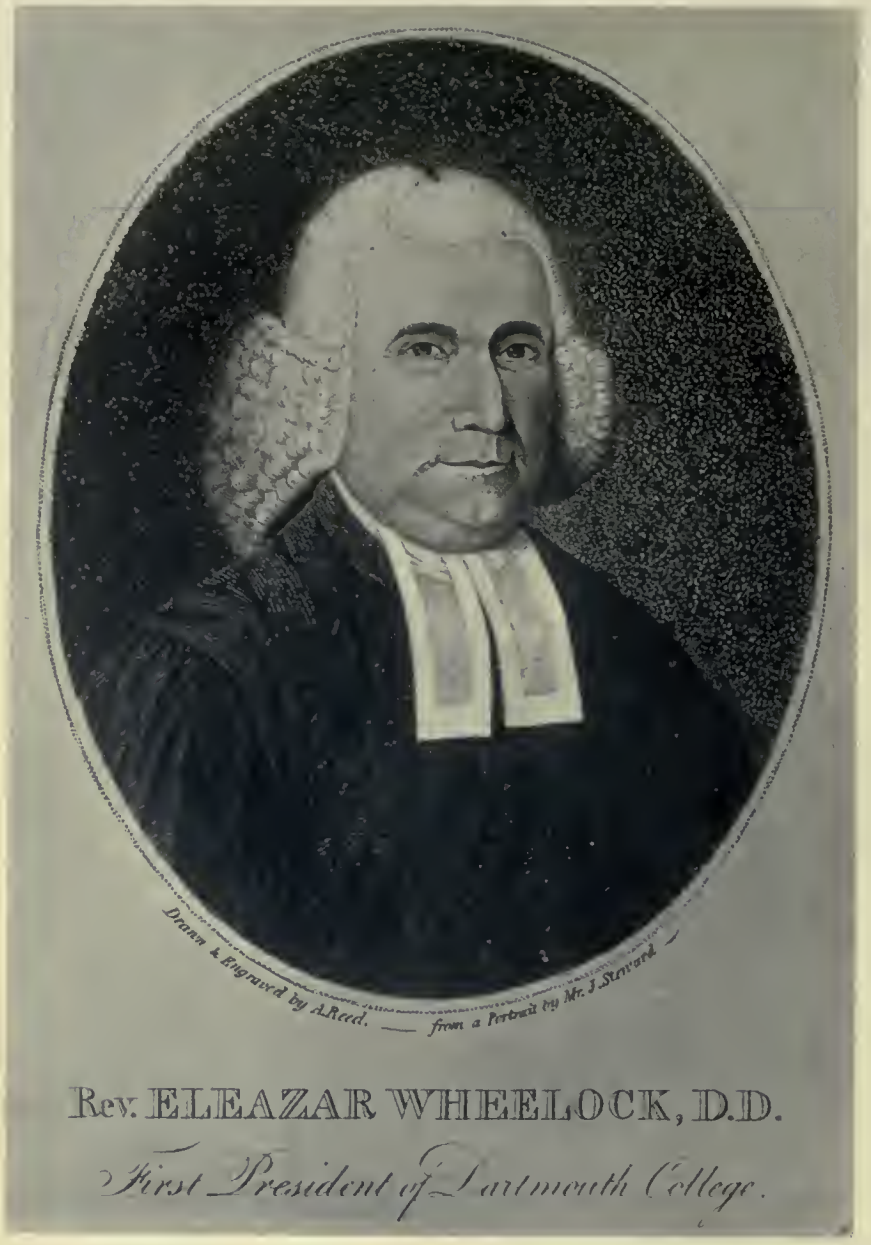

PORTRAIT OF REVEREND ELEAZAR WHEELOCK, FROM AN OLD PRINT

cation among Indians. He rose above his fellows, a singular example of what education could accomplish in an individual removed by but a few years from savagery of generations.

Wheelock, worthy successor to the "Apostle to the Indians," became enthusiastic over his success with this pupil and sought more boys to train. He obtained from the General Court of Massachusetts a grant of twelve pounds per annum for each of six boys from the Six Nations to be taught and cared for by him. The Honorable London Commissioners aided the school by grants, and so many persons in England and America made donations and left legacies to the school that we must consider Wheelock a master in the art of raising money for a cause. These donations sufficed to carry on the school for many years. The largest single gift was fifty pounds. All were obtained by Wheelock's ability in presenting its claims, his zeal, faith and the earnestness with which he gave his best years to the work.

The most helpful legacy was one from Joshua Moor, of a house and two acres of land in Lebanon, Connecticut. After Wheelock removed with his pupils to his building, the school was called Moor's Indian Charity School. The first of the pupils here were Delawares, sent to him by a missionary friend in New York. Boys from the Six Nations came, according to agreement, remained one year or several, returned home, and, we hope, were benefited by the instruction. We do not hear of any becoming school-masters or missionaries, to train whom the school was expressly carried on, though one Mohegan taught here, became a missionary to the Six Nations. Of the first ten pupils, two died but there is nothing more noticeable than the tendency to sickness and death among the Indian children in all these schools. When Center, a Mohawk boy became ill, Wheelock sent him home on a horse, and with him Negyes of the same tribe to care for him. Center died and Negyes never returned to the school, but Wheelock informs us, was captivated by a young female and married.

The hours were long, as in all schools of that time; from sunrise to sunset the day was well filled. Special emphasis was placed upon religious instruction, attendance upon prayers, and church services. On the Lord's day the pupils were catechised, read the Bible, and listened to discourses.

Mr. Wheelock advocated the education of Indian girls, on the ground that they would be useful in assisting the boys when they became missionaries. To this end he had four girls placed with families in the neighborhood, and taught by women "in all the arts of house-wifery." One day each week these girls attended school, to learn reading and writing, four pence per week being charged in the accounts for a girl's dinner and one day's tuition, a low rate even for those times. A master in the school was paid three pounds per month and board.

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ETHAN ALLEN TOWER NEAR BURLINGTON, VERMONT

175'

THE PROPOSED "MOUNT ETHAN ALLEN"

This magnificent range of mountains, including the peak of "Mount Ethan Allen," more commonly known as "Camel's Hump," is the property of Mr. Joseph Battell, one of Vermont's most prominent citizens, who contemplates presenting it to the State of Vermont as a State Park. Ethan Allen or Camel's Hump was by Champlain called "Le Lion Couchant"

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AND TWELVE

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FIRST QUARTER
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The Vermont Celebration

Towns are Commemorating the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of Their Charters & Benning Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire, the Actual Founder of Vermont & Early Settlers Came from Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and New York & Border Warfare with New York for the Freedom of "The Grants" & Vermont an Independent Republic for Eight Years after the Revolution

LONG after the greater part of New England had forced peace between the white men and the Indians, the war trails were open to the north, in the territory which is now Vermont. The wild mountains, the rocky hills covered with short grass and crinkled grey moss, which suggest the Highlands of Scotland to the tourist of today, perhaps also the sparkling climate, icy in winter, crisply bright in summer—all may have played their tonic part in keeping alive in the Northern Indian's heart the joy of combat. The few daring woodsmen who pierced their way into the deep green woods did so at their peril. About 1759 Sir Jeffrey Amherst drafted five thousand men from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut to build a fort at Crown Point. Another force was

put to work building a road between Crown Point and the fort at Charlestown, New Hampshire, and from these soldiers of the Colonies' Militia their neighbors at home learned of the new-opened land.

Before this however, in 1756, Captain Samuel Robinson, of Hardwick, Massachusetts, on his way home from Lake George Fight, lost his way and wandered about the Vermont hills. The land seemed to him a pleasant one, and after his return home he decided to go back to the mountains. This was the beginning of Bennington, the earliest organized town in the present Vermont. Of the Bennington pioneers it has been said: "The first settlers of the town were young men from Massachusetts and Connecticut. They were an active, earnest, liberty-loving, dare-devil, turbulent crowd who knew their rights and could not be bluffed—not even by the orders of the king and much less by the minions of royal authority on this side of the ocean." This might be applied to all Vermont. Colony and State, she has stood stanchly, fearlessly, defiantly for independence.

In the year 1761 Benning Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire, granted above sixty charters for towns west of the Connecticut River. The lands thus bestowed were known as the New Hampshire Grants. Each township was to be six miles square, and five hundred acres in each town were reserved for the Governor himself. At the same time he gave similar grants for eighteen towns on the east of the river. There were seventy shares for each township. Besides the two which belonged to the Governor, there were reserved one each for the church, the school, the settled minister, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign Parts, which last seems to have been rather superfluous, as the Society was almost an integral part of the Church of England, to which few, if any, of the Vermont settlers belonged.

Few of the grantees of Wentworth took up the land for actual settlement, but with a view to speculation. But they were not to find a clear field for their operations. The Province of New York claimed all the territory between the Hudson and the Connecticut Rivers and issued patents which covered the same land as those received from the New Hampshire Government. The real pioneers of Vermont, who had begun their home-founding under Wentworth's grants, were in the main indifferent as to whether they were ruled by New Hampshire or New York. But when the latter's patents began to interfere with their own holdings the struggle began. A meeting was held at Bennington and the somewhat Hibernian resolution was adopted: "Peaceful possession of our homes if we have to fight for it."

The New York courts decided in favor of the New York claims. Ethan Allen was present in Albany at the hearing, and replied, when the decision was made known to him: "The gods of the valley are not the gods of the hills." A little later, when the house of a New York settler was burned at Bennington, "We have resolved to offer a burnt sacrifice to the gods of the woods," quoth

Allen. Under Ethan Allen and Seth Warner the "Green Mountain Boys" kept up a border warfare until the outbreak of the Revolution.

The greater struggle of the united Colonies seethed around the little whirlpool of Vermont's quarrel with her neighbors. New Hampshire had relinquished her claim but the feeling had become too intense and bitter for submission to the New York Government. So the gallant, fighting little communities resolved on a daring stand—nothing less than absolute independence and self-government. Vermont glories in the first American Declaration of Independence. In 1773, two years before the Mecklenburg Declaration in North Carolina, and three years before the great Declaration on the Fourth of July at Philadelphia, the free mountaineers of Vermont solemnly set forth their right to rule themselves. It was not until 1791 that the little Republic in the hills ceased to exist, and Vermont became the first State to join the original Thirteen.

It has seemed eminently fitting that The Journal of American History should in some way commemorate this great Vermont anniversary. In the past century and a half Vermont has made wonderful development. Her unity and independence have not been lost through her becoming a part of the American Federation, but, in her case as in that of every one of the United States, in union there has truly been strength. Each commonwealth has learned from all the others. We have achieved what seemed to Europe a miracle of impossibility—the preseration of free statehood in indissoluble alliance under federal jurisdiction.

The Editor.

The Vermont Anniversaries

BY

THE HONORABLE JOHN A. MEAD

Governor of Vermont

To The Journal of American History:

THE SUMMER just past has been a memorable one in the annals of Vermont. It has been a summer of reunions and anniversaries. Many of our towns have celebrated their one hundred and fiftieth anniversary as municipalities, some with oratory and appropriate exercises, some with pageantry, and all with real enthusiasm and deep sincerity. Smiling skies and summer weather gave a cheerful welcome to Vermont's returning sons and daughters, and added the finishing touch to that God-given, natural stage setting of which we Vermonters so proudly boast. It was my privilege, as Chief Executive, to attend many of these celebrations. I wish that I could have attended them all. There was that spirit of true democracy, that touch of local pride, that gracious hospitality about them that made one feel that our motto, "Freedom and Unity," is as true to-day as it was in the troublous times of Thomas Chittenden. No one who saw the Indian wigwams, the frowning heights of Bennington, the spinning wheel, the husking bee, the "Olde Towne Meeting," and the veterans of '61, and—best of all—the hosts of school children passing in review, could doubt that Vermont's traditions are in safe keeping with the present generation.

Vermont citizenship stands for what is best under our Republican form of Government. Vermont manhood and womanhood are glorious heritages to hand down to posterity. Yet they are only the natural development of our past experiences, offsprings begotten of the joys and sorrows and the gallant struggles for independence of those who have gone before. These celebrations are of great educational value, and the pageants were a vivid portrayal of the patriotism and self-sacrifice which are part and parcel of our traditions. Too long have these traditions been locked up among the Town Records and in the memories of the "oldest living inhabitant." Let them be given glorious reproduction, and may these anniversary celebrations in Vermont be repeated again and again.

John A. Mead

John A. Mead

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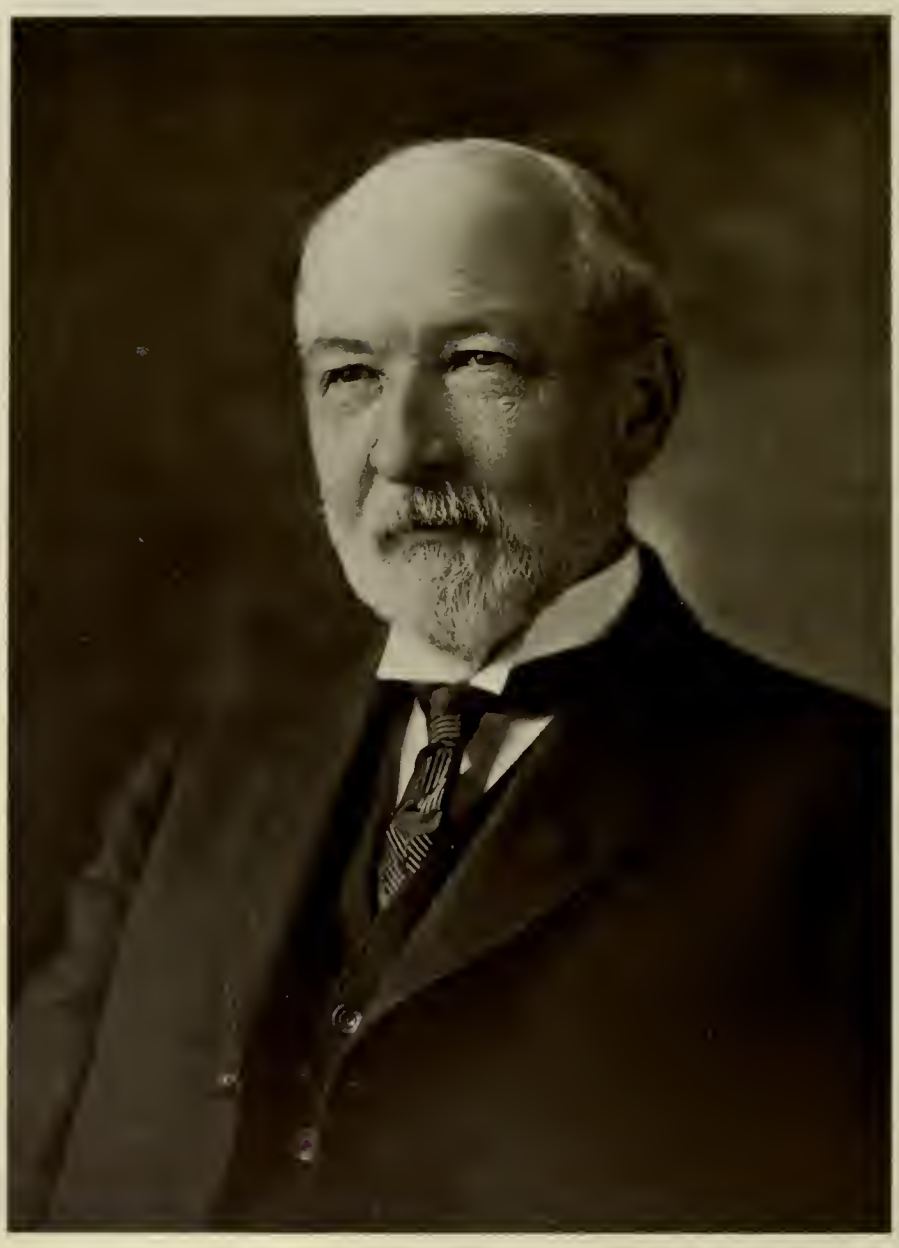


Faithfully Yours
Carroll S. Page

Ring Out the Bells and Celebrate With Joy and Gladness

Let Every Vermont Boy Know the High Honor Attaching to the Name "Vermonter" and Thereby be made more Proud of his Ancestry and of the State Which Gave Him Birth

BY

THE HONORABLE CARROLL S. PAGE

United States Senator from Vermont

To The Journal of American History:

TO COMMONWEALTH with a history as unique and grand as that of Vermont can fail of benefit from such a rehearsal of the facts surrounding the history of their organization as will come from the celebration of the founding of the sixty Vermont towns which sprang into existence One Hundred and Fifty years ago.

Vermont is sometimes called ultra-conservative, and it is true that when our people have become satisfied as to the righteousness of any line of conduct, it is exceedingly difficult to deflect them from the straight line of rectitude, as they understand that line to be; but in all that pertains to the uplift of mankind, our people are progressive, ultra-progressive, if you please. The voice of Vermont always rings true when any measure for the amelioration of the downtrodden is concerned. It was a Vermont Judge, Theophilus Harrington, who declined to recognize anything less than a bill of sale from God Almighty as evidencing the right of one man to hold his brother as a slave.

The conditions surrounding the early history of our State were absolutely unique. At no time was Vermont a province; never did she acknowledge herself the dependency of any foreign power or recognize the sovereignty of any king, prince, or potenpate. It required supreme hardihood and the greatest personal courage on the part of those men who, undaunted by the difficulties and dangers of a strenuous conflict, left the comparative peace and quiet of the more southern settlements of New England to seek out homes in our unbroken northern forests. Within those bold pioneer settlers who subdued our rocky hill-side farms, battling with the storms and enduring the hardships of our northern winters, that inborn spirit of right and justice so grew and developed that they became as fixed and unyielding as the very hills themselves.

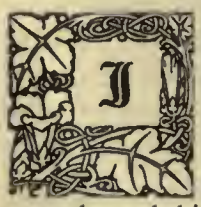
Yes, by all means encourage the celebration of these anniversaries; ring out the bells and celebrate with joy and gladness, that every Vermont boy may know the high honor attaching to the name "Vermonter" and thereby be made more proud of his ancestry and of the State which gave him birth.

The Complex Significance of the Vermont Town Anniversaries

They Emphasize the Worth and Virility of the Forefathers who left Histories worth Recalling & Define the Quality of Manhood and Womanhood of to-day in whose Hearts Love and Respect for their Forbears that Draw a rich Inspiration from the Memories of Long Ago, and are full of Happy Auguries that the men and Women who so proudly hold these Precious Legacies will transmit them, Enhanced by their Own Virtues, to Future Generations.

BY
THE HONORABLE FRANK PLUMLEY
Representative from the Second Congressional District of Vermont to the United States House of Representatives

To The Journal of American History:



I HAVE BEEN THINKING a little of the significance of these anniversaries, and it seems to me that they have no single meaning.

They speak of the genuine regard of the people of the present for their progenitors; they emphasize the worth and virility of the forefathers who wrought so wisely and so well as to leave behind them histories worth recalling and preserving; they define the quality of manhood and womanhood of today in whose hearts there dwell enduring love and respect for their forbears, and who find in the memories of those days of long ago a field rich and rare, a fertile soil where the seed sown of old may flourish and yield rich fruitage; they are full of happy auguries that the men and women who hold so fondly and so proudly these precious legacies of the past will be permitted to transmit them not only undiminished but enhanced by their virtues to future generations.

Undoubtedly they are rich in significances not here noted, but these are what impress me most.

Frank Plumley

Frank Plumley

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D. A. Foster.

The Value of the Historical Pageants and Other Vermont Celebrations

They Afford Proof of the Ability of the Rural Town to Plan and Execute a Programme of Great Excellence ❧ The Benefit to the Town Itself is Far-Reaching and the Achievement is a Wholesome Object Lesson to All Who Are Interested in the Improvement of Conditions in the Country

BY

THE HONORABLE DAVID J. FOSTER

Representative from the First Congressional District of Vermont in the United States House of Representatives

To The Journal of American History:

THE ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS occurring throughout Vermont this year have proved to be occasions of much interest. At Bennington, Wallingford, Danby, Hartford, and Thetford very elaborate programs were carried out.

The historical pageants at Bennington, Wallingford, Hartford and Thetford were notable events. The success of these several occasions is gratifying and inspiring.

To me their chief significance is found in the proof which they afford of the ability of the rural town to plan and execute a program of such excellence. The benefit of such an occasion to the town itself is far-reaching, and the entire occasion is a wholesome object lesson to all who are interested in the improvement of country life.

D. J. Foster

House of Representatives,
Committee on Foreign Affairs,
October 17, 1911.

Importance of the Publication of the Accounts of the Vermont Anniversary

To Revive in the Hearts of Thousands of the Scattered Sons and Daughters of Vermont a New Interest in the State which Gave Them Birth and Whose Institutions Gave Character, and to Attract General Attention to a State Whose People Always Have Stood for Good Things, Purity in Private and Public Life, and a Singular Freedom from Corrupt Influence in Government and in Public Affairs

BY

THE HONORABLE WILLIAM PAUL DILLINGHAM

United States Senator from Vermont

To The Journal of American History:

THE PUBLICATION by The Journal of American History of accounts of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the settlement of several historic towns in Vermont can but serve to revive in the hearts of thousands of the sons and daughters of the Green Mountain State, who have found homes in almost every section of the Union, a new interest in the State which gave them birth and whose institutions gave them character.

These publications will undoubtedly attract attention to a State whose people have always stood for good things, for purity in life both private and public, and whose history both in peace and in war has been one of which all may well be proud.

W. P. Dillingham.

Wm. P. Dillingham.

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Leighton P. Slack

The Pageants Instruct by Reenacting History Before Our Eyes

Whatever Impresses on the Minds of a People the Salient Characteristics of their Ancestors, or the Environment in which such Ancestors Performed their Life Work, is Worthy of Consideration & The Exactness with which the Men and Women of the Earlier Days have been Impersonated in the Pageants has given a Glimpse of the Dangers and Hardships which Beset those who Toiled, nothing Daunted, that the Generations to Come might enjoy the Fruits of their Labors of Devotion and Courage

BY

THE HONORABLE LEIGHTON P. SLACK

Lieutenant Governor of Vermont

To The Journal of American History:

ANSWERING your favor of recent date, asking my opinion of the anniversary celebrations held in various towns in this state during the past summer, will say that I am heartily in sympathy with this movement.

Whatever tends to impress upon the minds of a people the salient characteristics of their ancestors, or the environments amid which such ancestors were reared and proformed their life work, is worthy of consideration.

While it has not been my privilege to attend any of these gatherings, I am credibly informed that an attempt has been made, in each instance, to reproduce scenes, costumes, and events, taken from the formative period of our state history peculiar to the locality represented. The leading men and women of those earlier days, in the various localities, have been impersonated with great exactness, using history and tradition as a standard of perfection. We have had a glimpse of the dangers and hardships that beset those primitive people, who nothing daunted, toiled on, that the generations that were to come after them might enjoy the fruits of their labor, and we are better able to appreciate what they accomplished by a fuller realization of the surroundings amid which they wrought. I hope this work will be continued.

Very truly yours,

Leighton P. Slack

The Constitution House at Windsor

JUST when the Constitution House at Windsor was built is unknown. That it was in existence in June, 1777, is certain, since the Constitutional Convention met there at that time. It is related that one Captain Elias Savage used to say he had helped to erect the building three times to save its falling in. It is fairly well established that a man by the name of West occupied it during the Convention and was the host of that body of unusual men. Which room the Convention used was for a considerable time in dispute. Some said it was a room on the ground floor; others declared it was on the second floor. Probably the latter is correct. In such troublous times men with prices on their heads, and in danger from an invasion of the British army, would scarcely meet where they could be seen by every passer-by. The objection that the room is not large enough scarcely holds. The Convention scarcely numbered forty men, and the room mentioned is ample for the accommodation of more than that number.

The building was moved some years ago from Main street, where it had stood since its erection, back some forty feet, and a larger building was erected in front of it. It is about forty feet long and eighteen feet wide. It has three rooms on the first floor and two on the second. The windows still have the old-fashioned small panes. With slight variations, the exterior and interior of the Constitution House remain as they were when it was built and when it was occupied as a gathering place of the Convention.

Old State House at Rutland

IN the early days, and down to 1808, when the Legislature became permanently housed at Montpelier, it held its sessions in the more populous towns of the State. The Legislature held its session in Rutland, in what is locally known as the Old State House, in the years 1784, 1786, 1792, 1794, 1796, 1797, and 1804. The Old State House stands now upon the same plot of land, with but few, if any, changes in the exterior of the building. There is no record as to the time it was built, but without doubt it is the oldest building in this section of the State.

County Courts were held in this building from 1784 to 1793; and it was here that the first United States District Court, for the District of Vermont, was held, in 1791, with that celebrated Vermont jurist, Nathaniel Chipman, as Presiding Judge. It is said that this building was built by voluntary subscriptions, which would indicate that it was designed solely for public purposes.

THE OLD CONSTITUTION HOUSE, WINDSOR, VERMONT
The Building in which the Constitution of Vermont was adopted, July 5, 1777

STATE CAPITOL, MONTPELIER

The New Hampshire Grants

The Vermont and New York Feud over Land Titles & The Settlement of the Controversy, and Some Account of the New York Land Claimants Who Received Cash Payments

BY
WALTER HILL CROCKETT
Secretary and Historian of the Vermont Society of the Sons of the American Revolution and Editor of the *Montpelier Daily Journal*

MOST STUDENTS of United States history are more or less familiar with the controversy over the title to lands lying within what is now the State of Vermont, which caused the formation of one of the most famous American military organizations, the Green Mountain Boys. They know that Governor Benning Wentworth of the New Hampshire Colony, beginning in 1749, granted a goodly number of townships lying west of the Connecticut River. As these grants brought in considerable revenue to His Excellency, and he received a right of five hundred acres in each township granted, the government of the Colony of New York made a strenuous objection, as it was claimed that the grant of Charles II to his brother, the Duke of York, included all lands west of the Connecticut River and east of Delaware Bay.

In December, 1763, Lieutenant Governor Colden issued a proclamation asserting that grants of land made by New York in the disputed territory were valid. Governor Wentworth issued a counter proclamation, and the dispute was carried to the King, who decided, July 20, 1764, in favor of the New York contention.

It was asserted by the New Hampshire party that this decision related only to future grants, and did not invalidate the title of settlers who occupied lands already granted by Governor Wentworth. Space forbids the telling the long and picturesque story, beginning with the journey of Samuel Robinson of Bennington to the British court to intercede for the settlers in the New Hampshire grants, and including the rise of such leaders as Ethan and Ira Allen, Seth Warner, Remember Baker, and their associates, and their spirited defence of the disputed territory until the outbreak of the American Revolution checked the dispute for a time. The reader knows how Vermont set up an independent government in 1777, how settlers poured in in great numbers immediately following the coming of peace, and how New York fought the admission of the new State for nearly a decade after the war ended.

This article will deal, rather, with the final steps connected with the settlement of the dispute with New York and the New York claimants, to whom Vermont paid money in order to end the bitter strife.

When the Constitution of the United States had been ratified by a sufficient number of States to assure the formation of a Federal Government, a sectional controversy arose over the seat of that government. Congress had held its sessions in New York City since January, 1788. Kentucky was knocking for admission to the new Union, and its admission would give a preponderance against the claims of New York to retain the seat of government. Alexander Hamilton had corresponded with Nathaniel Chipman of Vermont in relation to a settlement of the New York claims, and in February, 1789, the New York Assembly, by a vote of forty to eleven, passed a bill permitting "the erection of the district called Vermont into a separate State," but Senates even in that early day had a fondness for killing bills, and the Vermont measure was slaughtered.

At a later session, held in July of that year, a bill was introduced providing for the appointment of commissioners to negotiate with Vermont regarding its independence. John Jay and fifty-seven others, interested in lands in Vermont, presented a petition in favor of the measure, and it was passsd. Ten of these petitioners subsequently received a portion of the sum paid by Vermont to New York. New York had reached a point when the importance of the admission of Vermont to maintain the balance of power was recognized. To Alexander Hamilton is due the chief credit for bringing New York opinion to consider favorably a settlement with Vermont.

Vermont did not propose to permit the United States courts to dispossess the holders of lands the title to which was based on grants by Governor Wentworth, but the Legislature passed an act on October 22, 1789, authorizing the appointment of a commission to treat with the commissions "that now or hereafter may be appointed by the State of New York," giving them full powers "to ascertain, agree to, ratify and confirm a jurisdictional or boundary line between the State of New York and the State of Vermont, and to adjust and finally determine all and every matter or thing which in any wise obstructs a union of the State with the United States." They were instructed not to lessen or abridge the existing limits of the State, nor to oblige any person holding lands under a New Hampshire title in relinquish his claims.

The commissioners appointed were Isaac Tichenor, Stephen R. Bradley, Nathaniel Chipman, Elijah Paine, Ira Allen, Stephen Jacob, and Israel Smith, any four of whom might perform the duties assigned to the whole commission. The New York commissioners were Robert Yates, Rufus King, Guilian Verplanck, Robert R. Livingston, Simeon DeWitt, Richard Varick, and John Lansing, Jr. A meeting of the representatives of the two States was held at

the City Tavern in New York City, February 9, 1790, but after a few days, on February 13, it was apparent that the New York commission did not have sufficient authority to complete satisfactory negotiations and the conference adjourned.

The New York Legislature, then in session, passed another act in spite of Governor Clinton's objections, granting full powers to its representatives, and a commission was appointed consisting of Robert Yates, Robert R. Livingston, John Lansing, Jr., Guilian Verplanck, Simeon DeWitt, Egbert Benson, Richard Sill, and Milancton Smith. A meeting was agreed upon at Stockbridge on July 6th, but the illness of two of the New York commissioners compelled a postponement. On September 27th the two commissions met at New York City, and on October 7th New York agreed to relinquish all claims of jurisdiction to Vermont lands, provided the Vermont Legislature on or before January 1, 1792, should agree to pay to New York, on or before June 1, 1794, the sum of $30,000. This agreement was ratified by the Vermont Legislature, October 28, 1790. At the same session a convention was called to meet at Bennington, January 6, 1791, and four days later the United States Constitution was ratified by a vote of one hundred and five to four. Those who opposed were Daniel Heald of Chester, Moses Warner of Andover, Benjamin Perkins and Enoch Emerson of Bridgewater. Nathaniel Chipman and Lewis R. Morris were sent to Philadelphia to negotiate with Congress regarding statehood, and on February 18, 1791, Congress voted to admit Vermont to the Union on March 4th of that year.

Thus the long and unequal contest between New York and Vermont ended in a substantial victory for the little Green Mountain commonwealth. On April 6, 1796, the New York Legislature passed an act by the terms of which Robert Yates, John Lansing, Jr., and Abraham Van Veghlin were appointed commissioners to examine and decide upon the claims of all persons to lands under New York grants which had been ceded by that State to Vermont, and to make a just and equitable distribution of the money paid by the latter State. The commissioners met in Albany, July 10, 1797, and continued their sittings from time to time for nearly two years, making their final report April 23, 1799.

The $30,000 paid by Vermont was divided among seventy-six claimants. It was decided that title was proved to 600,100 acres out of the more than 2,000,000 granted by New York, and the claimants received an average price of about five cents per acre. As from twenty to thirty years had elapsed since the grants were made, death or removal from the State resulted in the loss of evidence in many cases. To some the award seemed too small for consideration, while not a few to whom grants were made were Loyalists, and their property had been confiscated. It is asserted that probably a third of the persons to whom grants in Vermont were made belonged to this class. Over 500,000 of the more

than 600,000 acres for which allowances were made were granted to nineteen claimants, and the claims of eight individuals included nearly two-thirds of the amount divided.

In conclusion this article will deal very briefly with some of the persons to whom the sum of $30,000 was paid, without attempting to present seventy-six separate sketches. Hiland Hall says that with very few exceptions the claimants were residents of New York City and professional land jobbers, mostly lawyers and merchants.

The executors of Cadwallader Colden's estate received $449.15 for 9,000 acres. Cadwallader Colden was a Scotchman, born in 1688, a graduate of Edinburgh University, who had studied medicine. He came to America and practiced in Philadelphia. Later he removed to New York and in 1719 became Surveyor General. He was a member of the Provincial Council and for a time its president. He was appointed Lieutenant Governor and for a long time was Acting Governor, during which period he granted the lands in dispute. On the return of Governor Tryon, in 1775, Colden retired to Long Island, where he died in 1776. He wrote much on historical and scientific subjects and was a scholar of note for that period.

Goldsboro Banyar and his son, William, received $7,528.36 for 150,000 acres of land, more than six townships, this award being more than one-quarter of the whole amount paid by Vermont. The elder Banyor was Secretary to the Governor and Council during the whole period during which the grants were made. He was able therefore to obtain conveyances from other grantees, being a shrewd speculator. He occupied a neutral position during the Revolution and died at Albany in 1815, aged ninety-one years, leaving a large estate.

Samuel Avery received $2,655.03 for 53,200 acres. Avery resided for a considerable time in Westminster, Vermont, and had secured control of the grants made to more than fifty other persons. Most of this land was in the eastern part of the present county of Addison. After Governor Tryon, late in 1775, had fled to a British man-of-war in New York harbor, he granted 40,000 acres to Avery, but this claim was disallowed by the commissioners.

William Cockburn was allowed $1,495.95 for 30,070 acres. He was Deputy Surveyor-General for New York under Alexander Colden, son of Lieutenant Governor Colden. While attempting to survey land in the New Hampshire grants he was arrested and dealt with by the Green Mountain Boys. James Duane's heirs were allowed $2,621.24 for 52,500 acres. Duane was born in New York City in 1732, and having studied law he became involved in the boundary dispute of the colony as an attorney. It is said, in the Documentary History of New York, that "in the disputes relative to the New Hampshire grant, he (Duane) was considered the life and soul of the New York claims and claimants, and at him was aimed most of the coarse wit and abuse which

the Vermonters showered so bountifully upon all their opponents." This evidently refers to some of Ethan Allen's statements. Duane married a daughter of Robert Livingston, a member of the landed aristocracy. He was a member of the Continental Congress during the greater part of the Revolution, was afterward Mayor of New York, and a Judge of the United States District Court, and died in 1797.

The executors of Simon Metcalf were allowed $1,417.47 for 28,400 acres, most of it in what is now Swanton and Highgate.

The claim of William Smith to 23,600 acres was allowed, and he received $1,181.69. He was a native of New York City, a graduate of Yale, a lawyer enjoying an entensive practice, when he was made Chief Justice of the Province of New York in 1763. Early in the Revolution he assumed a neutral attitude, but in 1778 he joined the Loyalists. He was sent within the enemy's lines, but owing probably to his connection by marriage with the powerful Livingston family, his property was not confiscated. When peace was declared in 1783 he went to England. In 1786 he was made Chief Justice of Canada and held the office until his death in 1793. He was the author of a History of the Province of New York and of legal works. Smith also received a grant of 22,000 acres which he conveyed to his son-in-law, John Plenderleaf of Scotland, who received $1,096.68.

Brook Watson, an English merchant, known as bitter and deceitful enemy of the American cause, assignee for William Kelly of New York City, received $1,197.76 for 24,000 acres.

These were the largest claims. Others who were awarded a part of the fund included John Morin Scott, a graduate of Yale, who was one of the founders of the Sons of Liberty and an active foe of British aggression. He was a delegate to the Provincial Congress in 1775, a brigadier-general in 1776, taking part in the battle of Long Island, Secretary of State for New York, 1777-89, and a member of Congress, 1780-83.

Isaac Roosevelt was a member of the New York Provincial Congress, of the New York Legislature, and the New York City Council, and was president of the Bank of New York for many years. While not an ancestor of Ex-President Roosevelt, he was a member of the same New York family.

Michael Schlatter, a native of Switzerland, came to America as a German Reformed minister and preached in Philadelphia. He raised a large fund in England and Holland for maintaining free schools among the Germans in America, but the Germans opposed the teaching of English and he became unpopular. In 1757 he became chaplain of the Royal American Regiment, going on the Louisburg expedition. Later he preached in Philadelphia, and was imprisoned by the British when they captured the city.

Samuel Bard was a prominent New York physician, born in 1742. Through

his efforts the medical school of King's (now Columbia) College was established. He was Washington's physician while the seat of government was at New York. When the medical school was organized as a separate instiution in 1813, under the name of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, he became the first president. He was also the author of many medical works.

Probably the Archibald Campbell who was one of the claimants was the New York surveyor driven from the New Hampshire grants, who held various offices in the State militia from ensign to lieutenant colonel. There was a British officer of the same name, for whom Ethan Allen was exchanged, who was knighted and who became Governor of Madras, but it is improbable that he was interested in these land grants.

John de Lancey was born in New York in 1753 and entered the British army in 1771. He served with the British troops during the Revolution, but retired from the army after peace was restored and returned to America.

Luke Knowlton was one of the few claimants who was not a New Yorker. He was born in Shrewsbury, Massachusetts, served in the French and Indian War, and moved to Newfane in 1773. He was a Loyalist in the Revolution and received a valuable grant of land in Lower Canada, upon part of which the present town of Sherbrooke is built. Probably Knowlton, Quebec, was named for him or for his son. He was town clerk of Newfane from 1774 to 1788, represented the town in the Legislatures of 1784, 1785, 1788, 1789, 1792, 1803, and 1806, was a member of the Council from 1790 to 1800, a Judge of the Supreme Court in 1786, and a Judge of Windham County Court from 1787 to 1793. He died in 1810. His descendants have been prominent men in Canada. Knowlton received $249.53 for 5,000 acres of land. The name of Jillis A. Fonda appears often in the history of New York during the Revolutionary period, and allusions may be found to other claimants.

The bitter animosities of an earlier day have been forgotten and good feeling now exists between the two States. The old controversy is a matter of historic interest, and does not enter into present-day relations. Today Vermont and New York are good neighbors, dwelling side by side in harmony.

Ethan Allen

The Rugged Figure Whose Heroic Mountain Band Rough-Hewed and Defended the First American Republic, Gained the First Victories of the Revolution, and Preserved Vermont

BY
BURTON HIRAM ALLBEE
Associate Editor of The Journal of American History

TYPICAL of the times, the people, and the conditions, were the character and career of Ethan Allen. A born leader of men, with power to inspire and enthuse, to sway and guide, such as the great leaders of history have always had. Bold, enterprising, ready and resourceful, fertile in daring exploits, full of confidence in himself, handsome of face and form, remarkable for his physical strength and endurance, and thoroughly grounded in democratic faith, Ethan Allen was remarkably well fitted for the part he played in the early history of Vermont and thereby in the early history of the nation.

His blood was Anglo-Saxon blended with a strain of the Norse. Samuel Allen, who came to Chelmsford in 1632, was his ancestor. Ethan Allen's father was Joseph Allen, a failure in some circumstances, but of good, strong character. His mother was Mary Baker, the daughter of a Tolland County, Connecticut, patriot. Their first home was Coventry, but they removed shortly after their marriage to Litchfield, where Ethan, their first child was born, January 10, 1737, and named after his paternal great-grandfather.

The family moved farther west, settling near Cornwall, on the west band of the Housatonic River, not far from the present village of Ellsworth. Here Ethan's brothers and sisters were born. The family included Heman, Lydia, Heber, Levi, Lucy, Zimri and Ira. All grew to maturity. The girls, marrying early, remained near the old home, while the boys, influenced by their eldest brother, Ethan, settled in the hills west of the Green Mountains, then a wilderness. They were patriots as bold and fearless as those in the van of civilization on the plains—Boone, Carson, Crockett, and others whose names are synonomous with noble deeds.

In 1762 Allen had showed his enterprise in Connecticut by entering with three others into the iron business in Salisbury. He afterwards lived at Sheffield, the southwest corner town of Massachusetts. In 1764 he had bought part of a tract of land on Mine Hill, near Roxbury, which contained spathic iron ore.

Here he spent a large sum of money trying to develop a silver mine. Except for these brief glimpses of his business life, very little is known of him until he appears in the New Hampshire grants some time during 1769.

He first settled at Bennington, and afterwards lived in Arlington, Sunderland, and Tinmouth, going finally to Burlington, where he died. He immediately became a leader of the pioneers in their land controversy with New York. The settlers on the New Hampshire grants believed they were right in their contention that, having begun improvements, they should not be required to pay New York for second charters; and Allen, with his magnetic personality and impetuous disposition, was just the man to encourage them in their claims. He studied the subject thoroughly and in all its bearings knew it better than any one else in the New Hampshire grants, or elsewhere, and his vigorous work was the principal influence in convincing the world of the justice of the claims of the Vermont settlers. He gave the cause a standing which enabled it to prevail against almost unexampled opposition. He was not alone in defending the rights of the settlers, but those who have made a study of this subject will agree that to him is due the distinction of being the great leader.

A military organization was formed late in 1771 and Allen was elected colonel. This regiment assumed the name of "Green Mountain Boys", to show their defiance of Governor Tryon of New York, who had threatened to drive the settlers from their farms into the Green Mountains. While much romance has collected around this picturesque group of men, it was a very effective defensive force. They repeatedly drove out the New York authorities; protected one another from arrest; took in hand and disciplined all who ventured to survey or occupy land under New York titles. Their method was to give an application of the famous "Beech Seal", which Allen humorously described as "a chastisement with the twigs of the wilderness, a part of the land they coveted."

Many anecdotes describe Allen's daring and his power over men, but his adventures and escapes are too numerous to be related here. Being among friends, and the friends of the Green Mountain Boys, he generally was warned of the approach of any enemy in sufficient time to make his way to the woods. During these times the Widow Story's cave in Cornwall sheltered him and his companions more than once when the agents of New York were on their trail. How bitter and how extensive the struggle was can be comprehended when it is known that over fifteen hundred families were ejected from their homes. Without a leader like Allen there is no doubt that the colonists would have given up and yielded to New York.

In 1775 came the opening of the Revolution. The Westminster massacre occurred March 13, more than a month before the battles of Lexington and Concord. Allen's comprehension of the coming struggle and the military value of

ETHAN ALLEN

Bust, by H. F. Perkins, in the Hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Washington, D. C., reproduced from a photograph furnished to The Journal of American History by Mrs. Emily P. S. Moore, of Rutland

ETHAN ALLEN'S BIRTHPLACE
Litchfield, Connecticut

the Champlain Valley is best understood by the fact that he captured Ticonderoga on May 10, less than four weeks after the fight at Lexington. He next seized Crown Point and all the British vessels on Lake Champlain, effectually clearing that important highway of all emisaries of England. He was one of the first to attempt to win over the Indians, and succeeded for a time in preventing Indian warfare in what is now Vermont. He made strenuous efforts to interest the inhabitants of both Connecticut and Massachusetts, and partially succeeded. In fact, whatever patriotic movement developed in those days, a considerable proportion of it was due to Allen's influence.

The Cannon at the State Capitol

IT is probably known to every Vermonter that the two Cannon which stand in the portico of the State Capitol at Montpelier were taken at the Battle of Bennington. These Cannon were lost in the débris around the Arsenal at Washington for a good many years. They were first espied by Henry Stevens, formerly of Barnet, Vermont's best known antiquarian. He immediately made his discovery known to the Governor who, in his next message to the Legislature, called attention to the fact that these two guns were held by the United States Government, when by right they belonged to Vermont. The Governor recommended that the Legislature ask that these Cannon be returned to Vermont, where they could be exhibited as trophies. Vermont Representatives in Congress exerted themselves to secure the passage of a resolution directing that this be done. Finally, it passed the House unanimously. The Cannon were returned to the State and have remained in the portico of the State House ever since.

The legend engraved upon them reads thus: "Taken from the Germans at Bennington, August 16, 1777." The guns had a somewhat varied history before they finally found rest at the Washington Arsenal. They are what is known as four-pounders. One weighs two hundred and nine pounds and the other two hundred and thirteen. Four were taken at Bennington. These two are the ones that were captured at the storming of the Redoubt. General Slack says, in describing the evening conflict: "We used their own cannon against them, which proved a great service to us." It is altogether probable that these two guns were taken by the Americans and immediately turned upon the British. Of the other two nothing definite is known.

The Pageant of Thetford

A Study of the Rural Problem in the Form of the New Community Drama, Which Was Made the Occasion for Starting a New Development of the Town's Resources

BY
WILLIAM CHAUNCY LANGDON

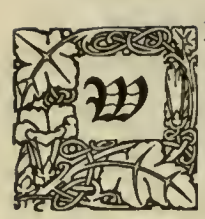
THE PAGEANT at Thetford occurred last August, from the twelfth to the fifteenth of the month, one day, Sunday, August 13, being devoted to a Union Town Service on the Pageant grounds, attended by about three-forths of the population of the town. While brilliant and successful pageants characterized the Anniversary Celebrations of several of the other Vermont towns, that at Thetford was unique in a most fundamental feature—its purpose.

The pageant, a dramatization of a community's history, originated in England several years ago as a mere entertainment. In our own country, if Thetford proves prophetic, the pagement is about to become an important feature in municipal development. The Thetford Pageant, for the second time in the United States, dramatized the present and the future as well as the past, while it was the very first attempt to harness a beautiful pageant to the sober task of practically solving a community's civic problems.

It was therefore, a pageant with a purpose, and it has been a great success. The people of Thetford made this Pageant, not their historian merely, but their prophet; and the prediction of hope which they themselves voiced in the Pageant, they are themselves now enthusiastically fulfilling to the life. They have made the Pageant Committee permanent, that it may be so.

Our readers will thus understand why we have taken great, pains to obtain the following remarkable account of the Thetford pageant from Mr. Langdon's own pen. The experiment at Thetford was considered so important, from a civic standpoint, that the Russell Sage Foundation, with which for some time he had been connected, felt justified in enabling Mr. Langdon to undertake this piece of work.—*The Editor.*

Hail, Vermont! Green Mountain State!
Bravely hast thou won!
Ride, superb! Despite all fate
Ever leading on!



ITH THESE WORDS the assembled people of Thetford greeted the approach of Vermont in the finale of their pageant, after the episodes of the future that showed the civic health and prosperity into which the town is indeed entering as a result of the enspirited work the people are doing for the development of their resources. It was a town celebration, but it looked forward to the victory of the State as well as to that of the town. Thetford is in truth a town of Vermont. The distinctive characteristics of Vermont are there very strongly marked. The qualities of Thetford are Vermont qualities. The difficulties with which Thetford has had to contend are the difficulties of the other farming towns of the State. The problem of Thetford is the problem of Vermont; and the prosperity of the town is bound up in the prosperity of the State. So, in these beginnings of her own success, Thetford raised a shout of acclaim for the triumph of Vermont and looked forward to see her "ride superb, despite all fate ever leading on."

Difficulties, limitations, are opportunities; and Vermont seems to be, by the same token, the heir to the brunt of the struggle with the rural problem. More remote from the large markets than any other of the eastern States, divided all its length by the Green Mountains and consequently its halves each drawn into closer relations with an adjacent State, endowed with the silent pride that has come down from the pioneer days when the little republic dared, if need be, to stand alone between British Canada and the new American United States, Vermont faces a depletion of her population that has been going on for some time now and which is beginning to be serious. Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York, to go no farther, all have their share of it, but in Vermont the rural problem seems to be at its worst. If the people of Vermont do work out the solution of this grave difficulty, they will not only render heroic service to their own State and to their own descendants, but to the other States as well, for surely with her hard conditions, what solves the problem in Vermont will solve it in any other State.

And yet Vermont cannot do it all. Vermont is one of a union of forty-six States, and that union is a reality. As the prosperity of Thetford is bound up in the prosperity of the State, so is the prosperity of Vermont bound up in the prosperity of the Nation. The Nation alone can win the fight. Only on national lines can the all-inclusive problem of the cost of living be solved. There is the great difficulty, there is the great struggle, in the problem of the adjustment of

the national forces of production and of marketing to meet with supply the demand, in various kind, of the cities and of the country districts alike. And the victory, if achieved, will be a national victory, uniting all the States and all the towns and all the people in a way that has not yet been dreamed. Thetford may make her beginning; Vermont may do her part; the victory will be of America,—in America, of all. The symbolism of the pageant went on to this: Vermont turned her horse and rode to the top of a little hill by a pine grove whence she raised her flag as a signal, and far down the long vista, a quarter of a mile away, was seen America coming on a white horse at a full gallop, and, a little distance behind, her escort of triumph, the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York.

If Vermont may reasonably be considered an intensification of New England, Thetford may be considered an intensification of Vermont. All the hard conditions of the State are there concentrated in unmitigated severity. Thetford had in 1910 the smallest population it has had since the first census in 1791,-1182 in an area of about 42 square miles. Even this small population is divided up in six villages, situated from two to nine miles apart. Three of these villages are nearer to and naturally have closer relations with villages of neighboring towns than they have with the other villages of their own town. Post Mills, for instance, is much nearer the village of West Fairlee, and its nearest railroad station is not in the town of Thetford; further, its factory, the only one in the town, gives it a distinct character different from all the other villages. North Thetford has, just across the Connecticut River in New Hampshire, quite a colony, sometimes referred to as the North Thetford inhabitants of Lyme. Union Village is, half of it, in the neighboring town of Norwich,—whence, and not from the Civil War, came the name; the post-office is in one town, the church in the other, and the line runs precisely and carefully through the middle of the school.

These conditions, of course, had a disruptive tendency on the unity of the town, as a town, that the instinct inherited from old-time for local and indeed for individual independence had by no means tended to modify, much less to offset. Farming had become mainly, if not altogether, a matter of supplying the household needs. Every farmer raised, or tried to raise, about everything he needed, and he did not try to raise more than he needed, very sensibly, for, as an individual he could not market his surplus produce.

The people of Thetford were people of intelligence and people of strong character. The slow flood of the rural problem had not gradually submerged the old prosperity of the town without their interposing a stubborn resistance. They had fought, and they knew they had fought, and they knew they had fought in vain, like most of the other agricultural towns of the east, with this difference, that they were more inadvantageously circumstanced than others and therefore their failure was more complete and irremediable. So the malaria of intelligent

discouragement got into the blood. Such were the substantial qulifications by virtue of which the people of Thetford took upon themselves the right and privilege of attacking the rural problem. And they did it with a pageant.

The pageant is a drama, a new kind of drama. It is a drama presenting the life of a community. The place, not a man or woman, is the hero, and the development of the community is the plot. So, in the Pageant of Thetford, the town of Thetford is the hero, and the development of the town, through all its periods of prosperous accomplishment and of grinding vicissitude, is the plot. The Pageant of Thetford is the history of Thetford done in dramatic form. In one sense there is only one Pageant of Thetford; in another sense there may be many; just as we may speck of *the* history of a country or of *a* history of a country. Thetford is an agricultural town; therefore its history is agricultural and its drama agricultural. Its recorded story began nearly one hundred and fifty years ago, in the summer of 1764, when a single white man, John Chamberlain, came up the Connecticut River alone in a boat, chose his place, built his cabin, and lived there entirely alone for a year before other white men came up and joined him. Increasing in numbers and in prosperity, the town grew to its height of population and of general welfare in the years that preceded the Civil War. From that time the descent has been steady and rapid until, in 1910, like many other Vermont towns, it reached the low point of its depletion.

The time of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the granting of the charter was approaching. There was considerable sentiment in favor of celebrating the event and the idea of celebrating by giving a pageant was suggested. In Christmas week of 1910 an address was given in the old church on Thetford Hill, in the middle of the town, to a large audience of the people, who had come out, some of them a number of miles, in a temperature of twenty-three degrees below zero, embittered by a heavy storm that howled over the roof of the church. The address covered a description of what a pageant is, what its civic significance, what a pageant of Thetford might be like, and, after a frank discussion of the rural problem and of its complementary, the city problem, of how a pageant would give impetus to a revival and development of the natural industries and resources of the town. It was urged that two things were necessary,(1) absolute unity of all the people of the villages, men, women, and children, putting aside all local jealousy and all diverse local interest; and (2) the best scientific advice and guidance in the country; with the assurance that if the people took care of the first, it would be easy to get the second. In harmony with this larger purpose it was proposed to carry the episodes of the pageant on into the future and represent the recovered prosperity of the town after the successful realization of definite plans which should be forthwith entered upon.

This was rather a radical proposition. Nothing of the kind had ever been

attempted before. In only one other pageant had there thus far been any attempt to deal with the future, the civic Pageant of the Perfect City, given by "Boston-1915," under the direction of Miss Lotta A. Clark, in November, 1910. In that pageant the treatment of the future was entirely symbolic. In the pageant suggested to the people of Thetford it was proposed that the treatment of the future should be realistic. Such dramatization could, of course, easily be done by gratuitous imagining, and also easily be most insipid. Essential to a realistic treatment was the condition that the people at once enter upon an energetic and long development of their resources, agricultural, educational, and social. The curve of these beginnings could then be computed, so to speak, and dramatized into episodes that would, with reasonable probability, picture the goal they were striving to reach. The social value of such a pageant to the people of the town, whereby it would itself enter in and become an integral and vital part of the town development, would lie (1) in the vivid embodiment it would hold before them of the ideal toward which they were pressing; (2) in the just pride it would arouse in the hearts of the people with respect to the past, and the realization that times of success and times of hardship are alike times of which the town should be proud, inasmuch as the times of depression are essential to produce the moral heroism that can produce the times of success; and (3) in the clear comprehension the people would gain of the history of their town as a whole, and therefore of the place of their new undertakings in the whole.

The people of the town thought it over, and talked it over at home, for about two weeks. Then a meeting was held in the Town-Hall, at Thetford Centre, which was largely attended by men and women from all six villages. The question was further discussed, and then a resolution was passed that the people of Thetford celebrate the anniversary of their town by giving a pageant of the kind described. The motion was carried without a single dissenting vote, and $450 was subscribed that same evening toward the expenses. A Pageant Committee was chosen with power to elect its own officers and to add to its number. This Committee represented all six villages and also the regular summer residents—Thetford people who have moved to the city but who annually go home to Thetford for the summer. After a few changes and additions this Pageant Committee consisted of:

Arthur B. Palmer, farmer and lumberman, North Thetford, *Chairman;*
Miss Margaret Fletcher, teacher, Thetford Hill, *Secretary;*
Charles C. Emerson, farmer, East Thetford, *Treasurer;*
Mrs. A. H. Colton, farmer's wife, Post Mills;
Dr. L. B. Allen, physician, Post Mills;
Charles C. Cook, farmer and Master of the Grange, Thetford Centre;
Mrs. Charles H. Farnsworth, summer resident, New York City;
Frederick T. Howard, farmer, North Thetford;

Miss Adella Martin, trained nurse, Union Village;
Mrs. William Murfey, farmer's wife, North Thetford;
Nelson H. Porter, farmer, Thetford Centre;
Mrs. Nelson H. Porter, farmer's wife, Thetford Centre;
Mrs. W. K. Porter, Jr., summer resident, Boston;
Ellsworth Sargent, rural mail carrier, East Thetford;
Rev. William Slade, minister, Thetford Hill;
Mrs. Charles A. Vaughan, summer resident, Worcester.

This is the way that the Pageant of Thetford began, the way the people of Thetford started out to grapple with the disheartening difficulties that had oppressed them for years, and that for years had oppressed their neighbors in the Vermont and New Hampshire towns around them. It seems not unlikely that the date of that meeting, January 11th, may sometime be regarded as an important date in the history of the common unity of the town, and it is interesting that the motion on which the people took their stand was made by a Grand Army man, Mr. John Quimby, who in the days of 1861-1865 fought for the common unity of the nation.

It took nerve, it took courage, to make that decision. What more appropriate incident could have been chosen for the first episode than that which the actual history provided, the coming up the river alone of that self-reliant man, shrewd, quiet, determined, with a saving touch of Yankee humor in him, not a bit afraid to plunge in and to stay in alone? That first episode was even more true of the town, as it started out alone to do what it could to solve the rural problem,—at that time without any help or promise of help from any source,—than it was of "Old Quail John" Chamberlain in the wilderness of 1764.

There were doubts. The people of Thetford are human, and they are afflicted with a high degree of intelligence—for a wild undertaking like this, not the very best qualification. There were times when common sense, getting unruly and insubordinate, whispered, "It's no use; it's no use; it cannot be done." The best scientific advice and guidance in the country *easy* to get for a town of that obscurity, for *Thetford?* No, it was absurd! Discouragement came from outside as well. Men in other parts of the State, men of position and competent to judge, indeed, kindly disposed, and who "knew Thetford well" confirmed the depressing doubt with their assurance that it could not be done, and, anyway, if it could be done anywhere, Thetford was the last place where it could.

There was some encouragement also, it should be noted, instances of which were President John M. Thomas of Middlebury College, the Secretary of State, the Hon. Guy W. Bailey, and Charles R. Cummings, of White River Junction, the printer and editor of *The Vermonter*. Their belief in the work from the start, and their readiness to help in any way they could, which they carried out to the

THETFORD STREET

QUAIL JOHN PARLEYING WITH THE INDIANS
A Scene in the Thetford Pageant

225'

THE SPIRIT OF HOME
A Dance in the Thetford Pageant

THE SPIRIT OF HOME
A Solo Dance in the Thetford Pageant

full, did much to give the feeling that Vermont herself really understood and was behind the people of Thetford in their task. None the less it was hard, as real work is always hard. There was, surely, not one person who at one time or another did not have moments of dismay and distrust. At times it almost seemed as if whole villages regretted the rash step. But the Vermont silence helped. People seemed for the most part to keep their moments of hopelessness to themselves, and the outcome was worth while. What the pageant meant to the people of the town was summed up in the comment of an old man, whose life covered half the history of the town, who remembered the old prosperity before the Civil War and had passed through all the years of the accumulating rural problem, a man honored among his neighbors, and who has good reason to be proud of his sons for what each one has accomplished. He said, "I have lived in this town for over seventy years, but this day makes it all worth while!"

The outcome has been: a first assault upon the rural problem, carried through with great success; a community well started on the highway of the development of all its resources, under the advisory guidance of the United States Department of Agriculture and of the University of Vermont; a town now, after less than one year, united, aware of its past, and determined as to its future, and with a large policy covering the various aspects of the life of its community, which is now become in truth a common unity.

The men of the town are this season cultivating their farms with scientific knowledge of the character and adaptability of their soils; they have started a cow-test association, to improve their dairy herds, and a forestry association, to ensure steady income in wood and water from their forests and wood-lots. The women of Thetford have started a Thetford Kitchen, to make at home small kitchen products for the market. The people, all together, are undertaking to build up the old Academy to its former strength and usefulness, and to that end are introducing agricultural courses into its curriculum. They are spreading the Boy Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls among all the young people.

They have proven their ability to produce the drama of their town in a thoroughly artistic manner, and now they are considering what they can do to make permanent the orchestra and the chorus, brought together for the pageant, and what they can do to start a Town Museum as a reliquary for local antiquities. They have put a new annual Town Fair upon their calender, for the comparison each year of what they have accomplished with what they have done before, and for the social gathering for a day of the whole town family. And finally, in their church life, they have started the custom of holding union town services, from time to time, the first with President Thomas, on the Sunday before the Fourth of July, in the old church on the Hill, and a second on Pageant Sunday, August 13th, on the Pageant Grounds.

Formerly, Thetford was a certain acreage, dotted with six villages which

were grouped together by law. Now it is a town, united and ready for effective service to its neighbors and its State. The prevailing spirit seemed to be concisely expressed in the greeting of the minister the morning after the pageant, when I met him in the post-office, "Happy New Year, Mr. Langdon!"

To get a correct understanding of what the Papeant of Thetford was, it is essential to approach it from the civic point of view. It was not primarily a celebration. It was not a pageant at all,—to speak paradoxically. It had mainly to do with agriculture and education, with the Academy and the Grange. It was a civic movement for the invigorating and re-creating of industry and social life in a country town. It availed itself of the town anniversary, chiefly because it wanted a date and had no objection to this one; and it used the new pageant form for its expression because this was peculiarly, remarkably, adapted to its purpose. Not until this conception got clearly into the minds of the people of Thetford did they really put power into the work. And why should they? But, one by one, as they took this point of view, they came in strong.

It was a joy to watch the progress of the idea. One cold day, riding in a sleigh with one of the Pageant Committee, a man from whom I could always count on gettting encouragement when the world turned blue, the sky green, and all else gray, he turned to me and said, "It's beginning to dawn slowly in my head that you are spending a whole lot more time on the development of this town than you are on the pageant." Then he saw that this was my point of view in the dramatic work, too. To think of the Pageant of Thetford as a celebration, that borrowed novelty by playing with matters of town deveolpment, is to get things upside down. Indeed, so clearly in the minds of the people of Thetford is pageantry, first and foremost, a means for the development of a town, that they have continued their Pageant Committee, without any change of name, permanently to direct all these agicultural, educational, and social projects. This civic character is what was distinctive about the Pageant of Thetford; this is what made it of value. And it is along this line of dramatic development that Pageantry will become in America a great and powerful factor in our national life,—not a pretty fad, dying out in five or at most ten years, but a vital and re-creative expression of our national character.

Structurally the pageant comprised five symbolic scenes and twelve realistic episodes. * The five symbolic scenes were generalizations of the conditions in the town at different periods, expressed in terms of dramatic symbolism. They were, however, quite as essential, and advanced the plot quite as much, as the realistic episodes. Indeed, taken by themselves, apart from the episodes, they would be found to constitute a history, in symbolism, of the progress of the town. The twelve realistic episodes were typical incidents from the actual occurrences of the past, or such as are characteristic of the present or of the future. They

were not separate little pictures, logically unrelated to each other, but twelve scenes, comprising the four acts of one continuous play, bound together, in the absence of any continuing individual characters, by the recurrent generalizations of the symbolic scenes. These groups dealt with (1) the Making of the Town; (2) the Development of the Town; (3) the Depletion of the Town; and (4) the Future of the Town.

The pageant-grounds were on the banks of the Connecticut River, near the village of North Thetford. The water was seen through a screen of trees, flowing down on the left of the audience. Immediately in front, at some distance, was a grove of large pine trees. Between the pines and the river a vista extended to a grain-field beyond, and on the other side of the pines, up a little hill, a longer vista extended down through the fields. The vestiges of an old vine-covered fence marked off an irregular-shaped piece of fairly level ground, close to the audience, where the scenes of detail, either in dialogue or in action, were produced. Two young elm trees in the line of this fence made a beautiful little gate into the farther grounds and the distant effects. The acoustic properties of the place were quite remarkable, so that the music was very effective. At the right of the grand-stand a shed was constructed for the orchestra, which consisted of about forty instruments. The music was some of it written and some of it arranged for the pageant by Mr. James T. Sleeper, since become Professor of Music at Beloit College. It was beautiful, appropriate to its purpose in the pageant, and adapted to the abilities of the players and singers; it was a revelation of what a local orchestra and chorus can do.

The audiences at all three performances were very gratifying. For seating a good grand-stand was erected accomodating 900, while extra benches raised the number to 1000. This however proved quite inadequate. At every performance there was a large number of people who had to be placed on the bank at one side of the pageant grounds. In spite of the remoteness of the town from large centers, in spite of a discouraging train schedule, in spite of the paucity of accomodations for staying over night, between 4000 and 5000 people saw the pageant. These splendid audiences were mainly due to the fine publicity work done by Miss Edith Brownell. Experienced in newspaper work, quick to appreciate other people's points of view, and understanding the absolute identity of the pageant with the development of the town, she aroused a general interest in the pageant through the press and in this way ensured its financial success.

The Introduction typified, in symbolism, the original natural condition of the region before the white man appeared. The Spirit of the Mountains, the Spirit of the River, and the Spirit of the Intervale, representing the three physical elements of the town, danced together; a group of Indians came, mingling with

* Under the title of "The Book of words of the Pageant of Thetford" the text of the drama was published by the Pageant Committee at Twenty-five cents a copy, and can be obtained by writing to Miss Margaret Fletcher, Secretary of the Pageant Committee, Thetford, Vermont.

them but not interfering with them, as the Indian life did not disturb the quiet reign of nature. A white man appears, however, and all is interrupted, for he is destined to subdue nature to his civilization and drive away the red man.

Of the three episodes setting forth the Making of the Town, the first illustrated the kind of men that made the town. "Old Quail John" Chamberlain comes up from the river with his pack of goods, makes his critical inspection, and starts to cook a quail, in which he is disturbed by the attack of a band of Indians. He holds them back, persuades them to parley, and finally induces them to consent to his settling there permanently, and to show him a good spot on which to erect his cabin.

The next episode, Burgoyne's Invasion, illustrated the kind of women that made the town. Certain Tories are being expelled from the town, when the Green Mountain Boys come in, with three British prisoners, on whom are found papers showing that Burgoyne has sent three expeditions over the mountain to burn and pillage. The alarm is given and the country side takes to flight, carrying all they can with them. Richard Wallace returning from the grist-mill at Charlestown, seeks his wife but cannot find her. At last he comes upon her at home. She had no means of taking their goods away, so she had viewed the situation philosophically and decided to "stick by the stuff and see if there was cause for this trepidation and flight." A friendly Indian discloses that the captured despatches are a ruse of Burgoyne's to prevent the men, on the east side of the mountain, from going to the assistance of the men on the west. The panic is stopped, and the men form in line forthwith and march away to join Stark at Bennington, while Mrs. Wallace and the women take upon themselves all the care of the homes and the farms during the men's absence.

The last episode of this group showed, in the beginning of one of the villages, the character of the community life that built up the town in the early days,—the strong local jealousy, the still stronger instinct for union and cooperation, and the quaint, refined culture that maintained a musical society even in the days immediately following the Revolution. A new church is needed. But there are now two settlements, one on the Connecticut River and one inland on the Ompompanoosuc. Neither will yield to the other with regard to location. Feeling runs high, but the matter is submitted to arbitration, and five ministers, appointed by the County Court, convene to hear and decide the question on the top of the hill between the two settlements, the only place where the disputants would consent to meet. The people are represented as characteristically forgetting their quarrels, during the deliberations of the arbitrators, in a rehearsal of the old "Musical Society in Thetford and Lyme," their pastor and president, the Rev. Dr. Asa Burton, acting as their conductor. The arbitrators then render their decision, that the new church shall be built there on the spot, as the only decision that would be accepted by both sides. Dr. Burton announces that he

THE OLD-TIME COUNTRY FAIR

DANCE OF THE NATURE SPIRITS OF THE MOUNTAIN, RIVER, AND INTERVALE

REVOLUTIONARY EPISODE: FLIGHT OF THE COUNTRY-SIDE AND MARCH OF THE MEN TO BENNINGTON

REHEARSAL OF THE MUSICAL SOCIETY OF THETFORD AND LYME

FOUR SCENES FROM THE THETFORD PAGEANT

ENTRANCE TO THE PAGEANT GROUNDS, LOOKING TOWARDS THE VILLAGE OF NORTH THETFORD

INTERLUDE I: DANCE OF THE NATURE SPIRITS AND ENTRANCE OF THE SPIRITS OF THE INTERVALE

DISTRICT SCHOOL USED AS PAGEANT HOUSE, AND THE OLD CHURCH

TWO VIEWS AND A SCENE FROM THE THETFORD PAGEANT

will move and build on the hill near the church. Others follow his example, and the people joyfully begin at once to erect the church, which gave birth to the village of Thetford Hill, where it is still standing. Intense local independence and a still stronger instinct for union,—these were, in the early days, in the days of the Civil War, and still are, in the days of the Pageant, the dominant qualities of the town.

Returning to symbolism, the first Interlude, The Nature Spirits and the Spirit of Home, typified the coming of the white man and his civilization. The three spirits of the Introduction now have each of them a large number of kindred spirits with them. First came the Water Spirits, up over the bank from the river, in light green and blue; then the spirits of the Intervale, in pale yellow and soft pink, the colors of the harvest fields, running in a body from the grain-field at the end of the vista between the pines and the river, a group of little Meadow Flowers, and a group of little Butterflies, joining them when they come down into the nearer grounds; and then the Spirits of the Mountain, most of them in dark green and carrying pine branches,—here and there one in dark blue or purple or brown,—coming down slowly in stately file from the pine grove, whither, at the end, they returned in a marvellous flight of drapery. While all these are dancing, a group of white men and women come among them. Afraid of the men, the spirits shrink away, but when the men go off to their work, they attack the women, From among the women, however, comes the Spirit of Home, who wins over the Nature Spirits to her. This dance and the other dances were originated for the pageant by Miss Virginia Tanner, one of our leading artists in the new dramatic dancing, who also danced herself in the three Interludes. Especially, in this Dance of the Nature Spirits, Miss Tanner made for the town a work of art of supreme beauty in color and motion.

The group of episodes that represented the Development of the Town had for subjects, education, business, and transportation. The Founding of the Academy in 1818 was the first of these. Mr. Simeon Short, a young attorney, makes the suggestion over a cup of tea, after his return from taking the town's contribution to the academy at Meriden, New Hampshire, that Thetford have an academy of its own, instead of sending its students and its money to another town in another state. Dr. Burton, now well along in his fifty-three years of iron devotion to the town, is consulted and gives his cordial endorsement to the project, and the people immediately proceed to write down their subscriptions and to engage a preceptor. Justin S. Morrill, a student at the Academy in the early days and later United States Senator from Vermont and the father of the agricultural colleges, was represented as a boy of fourteen driving over from Strafford in a wagon and hearing that he should have an opportunity to get an education near home.

The next episode was an old-time Country Fair, reproduced with great effect-

iveness by the people of Union Village, under the direction, as Marshal, of Mr. A. V. Turner, who had been the marshal of the old fairs a number of times. The episode of the Coming of the Railroad, unfortunately, had to be omitted in the performances, as it proved impracticable to fill the place of the leading character, "The Green Mountain Boy," the first locomotive that drew a train up the Connecticut and Passumpsic Railroad in 1848, although the officials of the Boston and Maine kindly made every effort to help solve the difficulty. The old-time Country Fair was the periodical department-store of its day, and the Coming of the Railroad introduced the industrial revolution that changed the methods and extended the area of marketing, thus bringing on the new era.

The second Interlude, the Age of Homespun, symbolized the economic conditions of the days before the Civil War, family groups dancing the old contra-dances, while around the edge other family groups engaged in the old home industries, with the spinning wheel, the flax-wheel, the winnowing fan, the quilting frame, and the maple-sugar pot. Into this scene of domestic happiness comes the Spirit of War, dressed in red, driving the people this way and that before her, and forboding the days of 1861 that were soon to put a cruel end to the era of household economy and independence. As the Spirit of War finally left the deserted field, the long roll on the drum brought in the Thetford survivors of the war, five or six veterans of the Grand Army, who marched across to the elm-gate and there stood while the episode of the Civil War was performed in their honor, as a tribute to them and to their comrades.

The next three episodes set forth the Depletion of the Town, the deepening of the shadow in the agricultural drama. The episode of the Civil War presented what the Civil War was to Thetford, a town in Vermont, and not in one of the states below Mason and Dixon's line,—the departure of recruits for the front, the awful suspense on the report of a battle in progress, the new enlistments, and the return of the wounded. The Civil War began the depletion, killing off many of the best young men and bereaving many of the finest young women of the town, although it established, as nothing else could have done, the beginnings of a unity of community feeling in the presence of the common issue and the common sorrow.

The largest cause operating to the depletion of the agricultural districts was the Introduction of Machinery. This was shown, in an episode of that name, by a typical instance of a small farmer who, when the big farmer, working for whom he makes half of his income, buys a mower, thereby loses his living and is compelled to take his little family with him to one of the mill-towns down the river near Springfield and begin life anew.

Then came the low point of the Pageant, the darkest of the shadow, the picture of the worst that the rural problem can do, cleaving the family asunder with distrust and misunderstanding. Pioneer conditions led to a manner of living

in which every household was economically independent, relying on itself for all the necessities of life, from food to clothing and shelter. An iron independence and resourcefulness of character was the great benefit that resulted. But since the coming of the railroad, and since the Civil War, the business life of the country has entirely changed, and is sweeping along on lines, no longer of economic independence, but of economic *inter*-dependence.

Some of our agricultural communities are still trying to live as their fathers and grand-fathers lived in the Age of Homespun. Strong, they manage to eke out a living, but they are not able to make headway. Intelligent, they realize the fact. So they have become discouraged. Discouragement has led to self-distrust, and lack of faith in themselves has led to disbelief in their children. There is nothing more tragic in life, nothing more fatal to community life, than this.

So the episode called, The Rural Problem, showed a promising, energetic young fellow in the hay-field with his father, the dispute between them about the proper management of the farm, and the boy's desire to go away to learn scientific agriculture. He is put into the position of thinking that he knows more than his father, when the mother comes to bring them some drinking water. She loves her son, but does not really believe in him; she is afraid to let him go away from home out of her sight. He gets no understanding, no moral support, from either of his parents. He turns to the young school teacher with whom he is keeping company. There he finds affection, but no understanding. He is alone, more alone at home than he would be in the crowds of a large city. Of this episode one of the farmers present said to Mr. Ernest Bond, who took the part of the father with convincing ability. "Ernest, that *is* the rural problem."

As the broken family leave the grounds, the personified Thetford comes, stretching out her arms in sympathy to them, the third Interlude succeeding without any pause. To her, in her distress for her people, appears the Spirit of Pageantry, not, it will be appreciated, the spirit of amateur theatricals, but the spirit of the large, powerful, joyous movement the people of Thetford have entered upon to raise the life of their town higher than it has ever been before, in material prosperity, in cheerful intelligence, and in sincere culture. She raises Thetford from the ground and points her to a vision of America, far back by the pine grove, on a white horse, the shield of the United States and the American flag in her hands, typifying the assistance the town has received, and is receiving, from the Federal Goverment.

Thetford turns back to the Spirit of Pageantry; she has vanished. She turns again to the vision; she also has vanished. But the spirit and the vision have entered into her heart. She stoops and draws from the ground the Sword of Power, and stands, strong and radiant with confidence, the sword lifted in the air, straight above her head, as orchestra and voices render a chorus which begins:

Toward the future cast thine eyes;
  Sunshine floods the heavenly dome!
O'er each roof the Eagle flies;
  In the Nation lives the Home!

The three episodes of the Future of the Town, the New Agriculture, The New Education, and The New Life, were blended together; indeed they might be regarded as one long episode, with three titles emphasizing the three aspects of the new days. In these episodes lay the distinctive character and purpose of the Pageant of Thetford,—and the best opportunity of all pageantry,—to enable the town to reach ahead and seize encouragement for the solution of its special difficult problem by giving a vision of its victory.

The time is supposed to be in 1915. The dialogue is all spoken by two characters, the Master of the Grange which was taken by the real Master of the Grange, and a western farmer, come home for Old Home Week, taken by a Thetford farmer who had at one time gone away and later had returned to make his home in the town, as at the close of the episodes he says he is going to do.

First came a Town Fair, consisting of a display of the live stock and agricultural machinery in the town, as it was too early to include the crops, but it was a real fair, the first of the series of annual Town Fairs already referred to as among the permanent civic results of the Thetford movement. In the dialogue pertaining to the agricultural matters, the specific things that are in progress, under the direction of the United States Department of Agriculture and of the University of Vermont, were introduced as things already successfully accomplished. Then came the Boy Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls, coming to the Fair evidently because they are as much interested in what is for the welfare of the town as their elders,—with a few of their characteristic activities; and then the social life, centering in the music and in a jolly town-picnic for which everyone goes off down by the river-side, and the suggestion of the religious unity of the town in the union town service.

So the Pageant comes up to its climax and inevitable Finale, The Tribute of All the Town to America and to Vermont. How can the success of a town eventuate, but in the benefit of other towns and of its State? "No town liveth to itself, and no town dieth to itself," is quite as true as the original form in regard to the individual man. If Thetford succeeds, as predicted in the episodes of the Future, it will prove an encouragement and a suggestion to other towns, laboring under similar difficulties, and may contribute somewhat to their success. Which is more important, the success of one town, or the success of many towns? All the life of people in common leads up to and is focussed upon the general good. So in the Finale all the people of all the episodes poured out upon the pageant

grounds, forming a large semi-circle, as they sang a chorus, hailing the people of the past, which began:

Hail! The forest days of old!
  They who fought and won!
Wary, strong, enduring, bold!
  Still they lead us on!

At the same time, from the pine woods, came Thetford down to the elm-gate, now beautifully and richly robed in blue and green, carrying the Sword of Power and her Pageant Shield, with the golden rising sun in the upper part, and the mountains, the river, and the intervale in the lower. She called the Nature Spirits, who came flocking out to her. Taking her place at the head of her people, she pointed them to the shorter vista, where Vermont was seen coming from the grain-field riding a Morgan horse, clad in green, and carrying the State shield and flag, as the people sang.

Hail! Vermont! Green Mountain State!
  Bravely hast thou won!
Ride, superb! Despite all fate
  Ever leading on!

Without stopping, Vermont rode around and up to the top of the little hill, where she raised her flag as a signal. Far down the long vista was seen America, coming at a full gallop along the pine grove, on a white horse, clad all in white, carrying the shield of the United States and the American flag flying in the wind. She was escorted by the neighboring states of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York. America swept down the hill and stopped in the elm-gate, before the assembled Pageant. Instantly, as she raised the flag, the people, with orchestra and chorus, burst forth in The Star Spangled Banner. Then America with Vermont and the other States, rode around and took position at the top of the little hill. There Thetford also took her place, at the bridle-rain of America, and the whole Pageant, from the first settler to the broken family of The Rural Problem, and the Boy Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls of the future, passed in review before them and marched away, one massive column, into the distance.

Such was the Pageant of Thetford. Such still is the Pageant of Thetford. It is an idea, a purpose, that has taken root deep in the character of the town. The real pageant is the life of the town. Of this the drama was a mirroring. It was a portrait, produced by the people themselves, cooperating, every one of them with each other, under the direction of the Master of the Pageant and his associate artists,—a living portrait of the town, what it was, what it is, and what it will be. And now, though the pageant is over, the greater Pageant of Thetford continues, one united massive column, marching onward into its future.

Vermont Waits

BY
FRANK ALLABEN

With the calm upon her upturned face
  Of the sabbaths of the sky,
And a golden gleam where the green hill-lights
  In her green-gold tresses lie,
And the parted lips of motherhood,
  And the dreamings in her eye,
        Vermont waits.

With her children tugging at her skirts
  While her glow-eyes round them play
With a love that lingering softly looks
  Beyond and far away
As she feels a new life leap within
  The womb of a new day,
        Vermont waits.

At her breasts exhausted multitudes
  To endow with throbbing life,
To assuage the fevered, fretting pulse
  Of the frenzied city's strife,—
A mother to the wearied towns,
  To the race, a holy wife,—
        Vermont waits.

For the fertile kiss of righteousness
  Her dreams to awaken true,
And the faith of heaven to flush with health
  And evermore renew
Her youth to bridal longings—veiled
  In her mists and morning dew:
        Vermont waits.

For Sunrise bursting up the verge,—
  For the voice and ringing beat
And the vernal thrill, the love, the song
  Of the snow-white, joyful feet
Of the Son of God upon her hills
  And in her valleys sweet,—
        Vermont waits.

John Abner Mead

Biographical Sketch of the Present Governor of Vermont ❧ A Descendant of Four of the "Mayflower" Pilgrims ❧ Soldier of the War to Preserve the Union, Physician, Man of Business, and Statesman ❧ Successful Attainment Through Energy, Perseverance, and the Will to Work

JOHN ABNER MEAD, the present Governor of Vermont, was born at Fair Haven, Vermont, April 20, 1841, and was the only child of Roswell Rowley Mead and Lydia Ann, daughter of Eli Gorham of Rutland, Vermont.

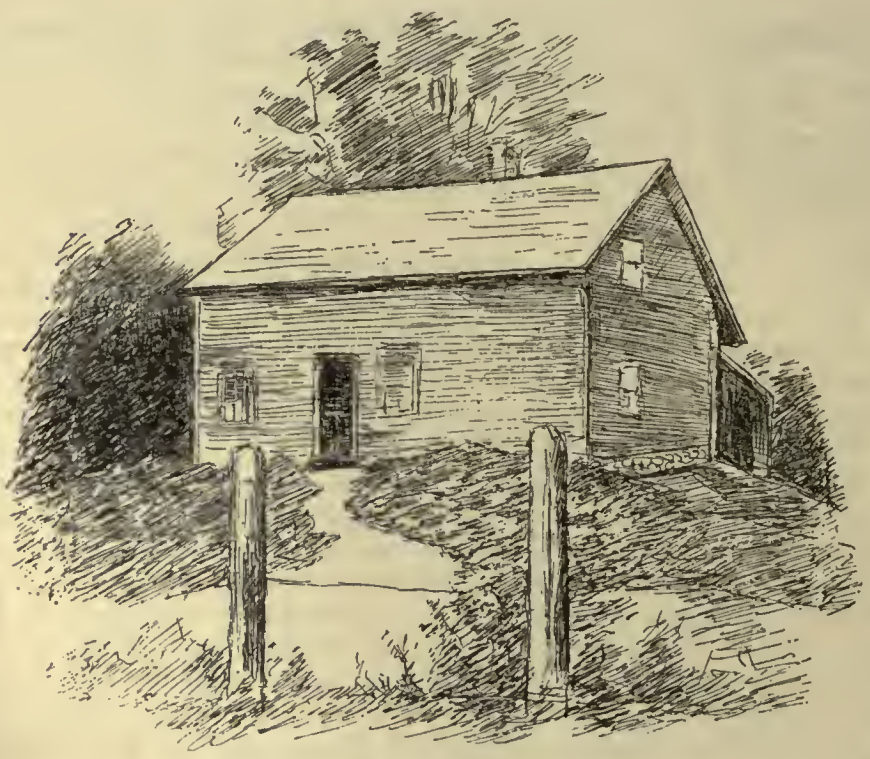
On the maternal side he traces his ancestry back to four of the original Mayflower colonists, one of the number being John Howland, the "Beloved Pilgrim" of Plymouth, Massachusetts. On the paternal side of the family he was a great great-grandchild of Colonel James Mead of the Revolutionary days, who was the first white settler in the Valley of the Otter Creek, moderator of the first town-meeting, the first selectman elected, and the first representative to the first Legislature from Otter Creek Valley. Colonel Mead was also father of the first white child born in the Valley. He was Colonel of the Third Vermont Colonial Regiment, whose deeds are referred to in the State Records of that day.

Governor Mead is emphatically a self-made man, and his history is unique in the fact that he has built up fortune and fame through his native ability and force of character. Although compelled to support himself at the age of sixteen, he earned his way through Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont, and also through the Medical Department of Columbia University of New York. He was a practising physician in Rutland for eighteen years, during which time he built up an enormous practice. He left college at the close of his Sophomore year and became a soldier in the Civil War. On returning from the War he finished his course at Middlebury, graduating in 1864. In the spring of 1869 he graduated in medicine.

John Abner Mead was appointed Surgeon-General on the Staff of the late Governor Redfield Proctor in 1878. As *Aide-de-Camp,* he served also on the Staffs of Generals Alger, Veazey, and Gilman, Commanders of the G. A. R.

During a long and active career he has been prominent in public life and in commercial and financial affairs, and has held many positions of trust and responsibility in Town and State. He served Vermont as County Senator in 1892, as

Town Representative in 1906, as Lieutenant-Governor in 1908, and was elected Governor in 1910. The degree of Doctor of Laws has thrice been conferred upon him,—by Norwich University, Northfield, Vermont; by his *Alma Mater*, Middlebury College, and by the University of Vermont at Burlington. He is a trustee of each of these institutions. In politics he is a Republican, in Masonic circles, a member of the Order of the Mystic Shrine; in religion, a Congregationalist. He was elected the first Mayor of Rutland in 1893. He has been President of the Howe Scale Company since 1888 and of the Baxter National Bank of Rutland since April, 1904.



BIRTHPLACE OF GOVERNOR MEAD

The Vermont of To-day

BY

FRANK L. GREENE

Editor of the *St. Albans Messenger*

IT IS NO EXAGGERATION of present conditions, neither is it any reflection upon the public spirit and patriotic endeavor of men and women most active in the affairs of Vermont in former years, to say that never, since the Civil War, has the State given such evidence of social and material progress, of such substantial social and material development, as it does to-day. Of course, all the varing factors and phases of human interest that are involved in such a proposition as this cannot even be sketched in the limits of this article; but a glance at some of the every-day concerns of the inhabitants of Vermont that bear testimony to the truth may be of interest, particularly at this time, when so many people outside the State have scant means of information about the commonwealth and its people, and are sometimes led to believe that current careless misrepresentation of its circumstances and conditions are trustworthy.

If we take the purely social and cultural, the ethical and asthetic side of life and living to begin with, we shall find that Vermont is well abreast of her sister States of New England, although, of course, she must labor to accomplish all this most desirable status against such adverse conditions as are suggested by the mere hint that the entire State has a population less than the city of Buffalo, and that this population is thinly scattered on mountain-sides and in valleys over an area of approximately ten thousand square miles. When one takes into consideration all that the people of Vermont have done to build up their social homogeneity and develop a commonwealth under such long-distance relations, the community of interest that exists among them, the fellowship of faith in common ideals and hope for a common realization of greater possibilities for the State as a whole that inspires a people that for the most part are hardly neighbors to one another it is plain that there must be something in the old Green Mountain inhabitance beside mere military glory that makes all Vermonters vim.

This little mountain State, for instance, has one of the most scientifically designed and equipped and one of the most generously endowed sanitoriums for the treatment of tuberculosis of any of the States of the Union. To be sure, it was the gift of an individual resident, but he was an honored son who manifested this same fraternal Vermont spirit that he was born to when he gave it. And the State itself has for years conducted an official propagnation of popular instruction for the prevention and cure of this disease, and yearly sends a board of experts

on pilgrimages through the towns, holding public meetings and making public exhibits on this missionary work of life-saving.

One of the best laboratories of hygiene, and one of the first to be established in the country, is to-day a prominent factor in the conservation of the public health in Vermont, and its cooperation in the enforcement of an altogether up-to-date pure food law, (passed before the United States Government had a similar act, by the Legislature), and the regulations of a most progressive State board of health, has become a matter-of-fact phase of the every-day life of the people. Precious few are the housewives in Vermont villages that do not understand that there is a place somewhere in the State where dirty milk, for instance, will be deteced and exposed. This is a small thing, in one way, but it has a relation to a trend of popular thought and popular demand that is significant. It is significant of such things as these that the State has a modern law regulating the registration of physicians, surgeons, dentists, pharmacists, etc.; that it has and enforces anti-spitting and anti-public drinking cup regulations; that it compels the technical education and the registration of professional nurses; that it gives to its local health officers a degree of authority over the regulation of sanitary affairs in a community that some States have not even approximated; and that it holds every year a week's school of instruction for all these health officers from every city and town, which they are compelled by law to attend at the public expense. It is not too much to say that no State in the Unoin has spent or is spending more money, in proportion to its population and wealth, for the eradication of bovine tuberculosis than Vermont, and each year shows a more and more encouraging report on the cleaning up of the dairies. ,

Within the past fifteen years, the public school system of Vermont has undergone a great transformation. The old-time, one might say, the traditional, district school, useful and powerful in its day and generation beyond estimate, has given way to changing conditions and modern requirements, and Vermont has to-day a well-rounded educational system that will stand comparison with the best, all things considered. Rural schools have been consolidated, so that people in remote parts of a town are carried daily to a central institution, where all may benefit by the advantages of a modern graded system; a plan of expert superintendence of schools is in force, whereby the small towns, as well as their larger neighbors, may combine in the employment of skilled superintendents, with the greater part of the expense borne by the State; towns having no high schools, are required to send pupils desiring high school education to adjacent high schools and furnish free tution; an annual school of superintendents is held under the direction of the State Superintendent of education, to the end that public instruction may follow in uniform plan and policy throughout the State; the normal school system has been reconstructed; teacher training courses have been estab-

lished in high schools and colleges; a teachers' pension act is in force; and a permanent State school fund, approximately $2,000,000, now helps the towns to bear the burden of the additional requirements of the latter-day educational policy. In this connection it may be said that a State Library Commission has for years been at work establishing local libraries in towns not large enough to develop them by their own resources, until there are to-day very few communities in Vermont that have no public library.

The public outside has a general idea that Vermont is wholly an agricultural State. The fact is that, by the census figures, less than thirty-seven per cent. of the population is engaged in agriculture. And yet it is probably well within the mark to say that the soil of Vermont is as fertile as that of any New England State, and there are figures that tend to show that it is, in some respects at least superior to that of all of them.

Only eighteen States in the whole Union show a better record of crop production for the last preceding five-year period than Vermont, and that includes, of course, the great States of the West that were supposed to be the paradise of farmers. Vermont this year ranks seventh among the States in the production of corn per acre. Similar comparison might be extended to show that the popular idea that New England soil is not as productive as that of other parts of the country is a mistake, and that Vermont rather inclines to lead in demonstrating that it is an error. It may be pointed out in possessing, for instance, just to emphasize the proposition, that Vermont and New Hampshire raise more tobacco on the acre than Kentucky, the leading tobacco-growing State of the nation.

Vermont has one of the best agricultural colleges in the country, and the State has recently instituted the policy of establishing agricultural high schools for the education of the boys "back to the farm." The State Commission of Agriculture conducts a series of public meetings in the farming regions of the State, at which experts in this science bring before the people the latest and best of its discoveries and developments. The railroads run "better farming" special trains with their exhibits in the spring, and there is even a State Ornithologist who goes about telling the farmers what birds are his friends and what are not. Small things, in one sense, but significant!

It is becoming something of a common saying among automobile tourists that the highways of Vermont are improving every year and that they are already superior to those of many more pretentious States. Vermont last year spent a million dollars, or three dollars for every man, woman, and child within her borders, on her roads.—And the good work is only beginning!

Vermont has no public debt, except a loan for an educational institution, created by bond and perpetuated for its first purpose on a philanthrophic idea, and not as originally an economic obligation. All deposits in savings banks in

Vermont are exempt from taxation, and the gain in the total of savings, year by year recently,has averaged around $4,000,000 annually, or more than $11 per capita. There is no State tax, the revenues being derived from taxes on corporations, inheritances, etc.

Vermont has already several forest preserves, and has a department of forestry, under the direction of an expert, that is doing wonders year by year toward carrying out a consistent policy of conservation of natural resources. The probibility is that within a few years there will be State forest preserves in every county, or localized object-lessons for individual owners of timber lands.

Many States are even now struggling for a public service commission to regulate corporations and "big business". Vermont has had one for years, and under the wise provision of a fair statute, corporations and commissions are working together in splendid harmony for the public service. This little rural State has for years been working on a policy of gradually doing away with grade crossings, under the terms of an act that requires so many to be abolished every year, the expense to be divided between the State, town and railroad.

Vermont is popularly supposed to be an out-of-the-way rural region, yet there is one automobile in the State to every 110 of its inhabitants, and in this respect it ranks eighth in the Union.

There are no bucket shops in Vermont, because several years ago Vermont shut them out. And this is a prohibition that prohibits.

Vermont has a commissioner of weights and measures that, with the assistance of his deputies, is helping to make a pound weigh sixteen ounces and every bushel hold its measure. This is another small thing, in one sense, but taken with the State's pioneering in the pure food law, for instance, it means something, because it tells in plain terms what a progressive and intelligent people are doing.

The industrial life of Vermont could not even be sketched within the limits of this article. Most people outside the State do not realize that the greater part of its energies are directed along this line. But examination will show that the little Green Mountain State leads in more than one industry that the popular mind never will associate with Vermont at all. Vermont is a manufacturing State, but a good many people have not found it out yet.

All that may be said in conclusion would be but a faint hint of what might have been previously introduced in detail, if space permitted. But this may be hinted at: Vermont is an industrial as well as an agricultural State; it has business possibilities, that, on the average,—the evening of possibilities, man for man,—are not excelled in New England; it has a social order regulated under a governmental policy that will stand comparison with any State in the Union. And it has "only begun to fight."

The Bennington Historical Pageant

Scenic Review of the old Green Mountain Town & Wedding of Governor Benning Wentworth, who gave Charters to the Celebrating Towns & Men and Women who played Stirring Parts in Bennington's Early Days Dramatically Portrayed & Spectacular Representation of the Battle of Bennington & Indians, British Soldiers, and Vermont Patriots Make Vivid the Revolutionary Period

BY

DOCTOR J. D. LANE

Bennington, Vermont

THE Bennington Historical Pageant, commemorative of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of the town, was a success that exceeded the hopes of the most sanguine.

Miss Hilda Pratt first proposed the pageant and the idea gained rapid headway. Committees were appointed and the services of Miss Margaret MacLaren Eager, a professional pageant director, secured. Drills and rehearsals were begun and after weeks of strenuous labor the large company of Patriots, Indians, British, Colonial ladies and gentlemen, etc., knew their parts and were ready for the opening performance.

The spot selected for the performance was a large, natural amphitheatre in Clark's Woods, not far from the famous Bennington Battle Monument. There were accommodations for about three thousand spectators. The "stage" was a flat-topped knoll, directly in front of the stands, and the whole was flanked by dense woods.

The pageant deals almost entirely with the early history of Bennington. The opening act shows a street scene of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. A large party of young people are making merry before the Red Lion Inn when along comes Martha Hilton, maid of all work at the inn. Martha, as usual, is in a state of more or less déshabille, and the prim Dame Stavers takes her to task.

"Fie! Martha Hilton! Why dost thou go about town half dressed and looking so?" Martha grimaces and informs the worthy dame that she will yet ride in her own coach and four. At this juncture there is a blare of trumpets, and the coach bearing Governor Benning Wentworth arrives.

In the next scene (five years later), Governor Wentworth gives a dinner party, and at the close of the dinner is married to Martha Hilton, to the indignation of the guests. Following this, the stately and beautiful court minuet is danced on the lawn.

The next scene depicts the arrival of the first settlers. Bridget Harwood gallops in ahead and plants an apple tree. From first to last, the riding of the ladies and gentlemen was a feature of the big performance.

In another scene, at a merry-making in Old Bennington, Parson Dewey seeks out the dilatory Joseph Rudd and announces that if Joseph will marry his sweetheart, he will perform the ceremony *gratis*. Joseph scratches his head a moment, then accepts, and the Rudd wedding is celebrated.

Samuel Robinson made a trip to England in behalf of the settlers of Vermont, and this is the subject of a pretty scene which includes a May-Pole dance.

Up to this point, the scenes represented the more peaceful episodes in the early history of Bennington, but dark days were near. The lands were claimed by the New York authorities and clashes were frequent, and the dark shadow of the Revolution was at hand. To resist the usurpers from New York and for general defense, the boldest of the settlers banded together under Ethan Allen. They styled themselves the Green Mountain Boys, but to the authorities at Albany they were known as the Bennington Mob. This was made the subject of a finely acted scene. Ethan Allen (Judge Holden) is haranguing his men in the Council Room of the Catamount Tavern, when word is received that one of their men, Remember Baker, has been arrested by New York officials and is on his way to Albany. Then comes "Volunteers to ride to the rescue of Remember Baker," and off they gallop, a hard riding, hard fighting crowd, with little time for self culture but men who made the history of the times.

The next scene is the sensational and spectacular Battle of Bennington. In these days of peace and security we can but faintly imagine the consternation in this town when it was announced that a powerful British force and a crowd of murdering savages were advancing on them. In the opening of this scene the patriot soldiers and townspeople are fraternizing, when a scout comes galloping in and announces "The British are coming." Stark's men fall in, and to the tune of martial music march off to meet the foe, while those left behind pray for the success of their champions. Soon the British, in their scarlet uniforms, and the hideous savages appear, and proceed to fortify the hill back of the stage. Stark's men advance to the attack, the Indians are speedily put to flight, and the British are sorely pressed on all sides. In vain does Colonel Baum ply his cannon (and firecrackers), for the patriots assail him with a vim not to be denied and his force is dispersed or captured. The patriots raise a cry of victory, which is short lived, however, for Breyman appears with another British column and the battle rages as before. Then Warner's troops arrive on the run and the British are again beaten, and the patriots parade their prisoners in triumph through Bennington.

The battle scene, with its skulking Indians, gaudy British Regulars, galloping Colonials, combined with artillery, red fire, etc., made a beautiful and spectacular display.

THE IN-COMING OF THE FIRST SETTLERS
From the Bennington Pageant

AN OLD TIME COACH AND FOUR
From the Bennington Pageant

COLONEL BAUM
Presented, in the Bennington Pageant of August, 1911, by Dr. John D. Lane

The closing scenes are the final review of the pageant and the singing of "America" by all the participants. The review consisted of a serpentine-like procession upon which the lights played with marvellous effect. Following the review, the entire company faced the audience, and, under direction of Mr. Charles Bennett, sang "America."

* * * * * * * * * * *

It is a balmy August night in Clark's Woods. The amphitheatre is rapidly filling up with spectators. The lights play on the big, open stage. Behind the scenes "make ups" are being completed, while horsemen are tightening saddle-girths, the Indians slink furtively to their places, and the cannoneers crouch in the gloom beside the guns and await the word. Miss Eager nods to the band-leader, and the strains of "La Cinquantaine" roll up like an anthem and—the show is on.

To my Hills

BY

MABEL THACHER ROSEMARY WASHBURN

Oh, can you give me back my dreams?
  Oh, can you make my dreams come true?
You did not shield me from the ills
  That came when I went forth from you;

But when my days are dark with pain
  I see as in a mist the child
That was myself, all fairy-gay,
  Heartful of dreamings sweet and wild.

I used to climb the kind, great hills
  And on their moss green-silver lie,
And hear the wind plash through the trees,
  And watch the fleecy, soft, blue sky.

Or, flying through the village street,
  A fairy I with elfin train,
Our arms spread wide for gauzy wings,
  Our sparkling palace down the lane.

And many an hour I spent entranced
  By tales of Knights and Chivalry,
Curled, blissful, in a happy nest
  In some warm-fruited apple-tree.

O green, dear hills, why did you not
  The little child I was hold fast?
Why did you let me go so far,
  Through days and ways so sad and vast?

For I have lost my fairy dreams
  In the dark forest of the years.
Your child returns! Oh, can you weave
  Your rainbow-glamour through my tears?

Vermont Town Celebrations

BY

THE HONORABLE HORACE W. BAILEY,

United States Marshal of Vermont

IN 1911 occurred the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of incorporation by Governor Benning Wentworth of the following towns in what is now the State of Vermont: In Addison County, Addison, Bridport, Cornwall, Leicester, Middlebury, New Haven, Panton, Salisbury, Shoreham, Weybridge; in Bennington County, Arlington, Bennington, Dorset, Glastenbury, Manchester, Peru, Rupert, Sandgate, Shaftsbury, Sunderland, Winhall; in Essex County, Brunswick, Ferdinand, Granby, Guildhall, Maidstone, Wenlock; in Orange County, Fairlee, Strafford, Tunbridge; in Rutland County, Brandon, Castleton, Clarendon, Danby, Mount Tabor, Pawlet, Pittsford, Poultney, Rutland, Sherburne, Shrewsbury, Sudbury, Tinmouth, Wallingford, Wells; in Windham County, Marlboro, Newfane; in Windsor County, Andover, Barnard, Bridgewater, Cavendish, Hartford, Hartland, Ludlow, Norwich, Plymouth, Pomfret, Reading, Sharon, Springfield, Stockbridge, Weathersfield, Windsor, Woodstock.

A number of the towns commemorated the anniversary by unique and interesting celebrations. Among these were Bennington, Danby, Hartford, Ludlow, Pittsford, Pawlet, Rutland, Springfield, Tinmouth, Thetford and Wallingford. The accounts of the celebrations of Bennington, Pittsford, and Thetford are given elsewhere.

Danby was chartered August 27, 1761, and settled in 1765. Their 150th anniversary celebration took the form of an Old Home Week, the principal exercises being on August 27, on which day the Danby Improvement Association presented to the town an ornamental drinking fountain for man and beast. The presentation was made by Rev. W. A. McIntire, L. H. Cook, Esq., one of the selectmen, accepting the gift in behalf of the town. The presentation and dedicatory exercises were historical and educational. The dedicatory address was made by Rev. Father Lynch of Pittsford. The evening was given over to an old-time celebration with bonfires, fireworks, winding up with an old-fashioned corn roast. Appropriate anniversary services were held in all the churches, concluding with a grand service in the Catholic Church.

Hartford was chartered July 4, 1761, and settlement was begun in 1764 by several families from Lebanon, Conn. The anniversary of their charter date was celebrated on July 1-5, 1911.

The celebration was made up of pageantry, historic in its nature, representing all the important epochs of the town, including scenes of Indian life.

The place selected for the stage setting was just north of White River Junction Village, on a high bluff overlooking the Connecticut and White Rivers and the village.

Union religious services were held in the Gate's Opera House on Sunday, on the second of July, Rev. John M. Thomas, D. D., LL. D., President of Middlebury College, preaching the sermon. The celebration was concluded by the dedication of a marker erected by the Thomas Chittenden Chapter, D. A. R. These exercises were held on July 5. The dedicatory oration was delivered by Rev. Ozora S. Davis, D. D., of Chicago, a former resident of the town, his theme being "The Pioneer and His Unfinished Work." The response was made by Ex-Governor Samuel E. Pingree. The inscription on the marker follows:

"This monument marks the centre of the town of Hartford determined by survey in 1774. Here was the parade and convenient green on which were drilled Hartford's soldiers in the Revolution. Here stood the Meeting House built by the town in 1784, used for religious services until 1872. Here on Meeting House Square was held the annual June Training Day until 1844. Nearby stood Free Grace Leavitt's Tavern and, until 1840, the Town Clerk's office."

Ludlow was chartered September 16, 1761, and the settlement began in 1784-5. Just one hundred and fifty years after the grant, to a day, the event was celebrated under the management of the Lucy Fletcher Chapter, D. A. R. On account of bad weather the original plan of holding an open air meeting in the Common was abandoned, the exercises being held in the Opera House, presided over by Ex-Governor W. W. Stickney, who delivered an interesting historical address on "Early Sovereignty in This Locality." The Honorable Allen M. Fletcher, whose grandfather was a pioneer settler, spoke briefly but interestingly.

The principal speaker was Rev. J. S. Lyon, D. D., of Holyoke, Mass., a graduate of Black River Academy, Ludlow, and a man highly esteemed in this region. The subject of Dr. Lyon's oration was "The Conservative and Distributing Spirit of Vermont." He was listened to by a deeply interested audience, and was greatly praised for the educational, historical and helpful qualities of his oration.

Selections by the Ludlow Cornet Band, singing of familiar hymns and solos, and the reading of the Town Charter made up the programme. The principal historical feature of the celebration was an historical exhibit, collected and arranged at the Fletcher Library, composed of early town and historic documents, printed and written, and a great variety of implements of war and peace, and a large number of articles showing the handiwork of a noble, and thoroughly appreciated ancestry.

Pittsford was chartered October 12, 1761, and settled in 1769 by Gideon and Benjamin Cooley from Greenwich, Massachusetts. This town had the misfortune of having its early records destroyed by fire. Its early history is unusually interesting from the fact that it was the northern frontier town on the west side of the mountains during the Revolutionary War, having two picket forts.

This town celebrated the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its charter date on August 15, the commemoration taking the form of a Gala Day parade between the Village and Pittsford Mills, participated in by the fraternal societies, war veterans, school children, artistically decorated floats, and the populace. The important historical event of the exercises was the laying of the cornerstone of the Lothrop School Building, at which the Honorable Ernest Hitchcock presided, addresses being given by Rev. C. H. Smith and Rev. Father J. A. Lynch.

Of all the towns in the State which celebrated Pawlet is the only one which held a double anniverary, celebrating the one hundred and fifty anniversary of its settlement. This town was chartered August 26, 1761, and Simeon Burton and William Fairfield began its permanent settlement during the same year. This double anniversary event was celebrated by an Old Home Week, August 23-27.

Spectacular pageantry and parades with martial music, with games, festivities, and reminiscent meetings were the order of the day. Church services were held, and in all the events the atmosphere of fraternity, family reunions, and the spirit of good cheer were all-prevailing. Saturday, August 26, was the grand fête-day of the week. His Excellency, the Governor, was the guest of honor, and other distinguished guests, former residents and citizens occupied the platform, which was tastefully decorated with the flags of all nations. The addresses were listened to with deep interest by one of the largest audiences ever gathered in the town.

Rutland has the distinction of having had two charters granted in the year 1761. The first, dated September 7, was by Governor Benning Wentworth of the Province of New Hampshire. The other charter was granted by Colonel John Henry Lydius of Albany, New York, under the name of Fairfield, but no organization was ever made under the Lydius charter. The first grantee named in the Wentworth charter was John Murray, a prominent citizen of Rutland, Massachusetts, which probably gave the name to this town.

As was the case in many towns in Vermont, none of the original grantees ever became residents, or even set foot on its soil! The first settler of Rutland was Timothy Mead, an ancestor of Vermont's present Governor, John Abner Mead. He came into this town with his family in 1769 from Nine Partners, New York, having originally come from Connecticut.

Rutland celebrated the one hundred and fiftieth anniverary of the granting of its charter September 4-8, inclusive. This celebration was in conjunction with the Fair of the Rutland County Agricultural Society, and was probably the most important event of its kind ever held in Rutland County. The main streets of Rutland City were decorated with flags and bunting, with electric illumination everywhere. The Fair was said to be by far the best ever held in Rutland County and that more people visited this city during that week than ever before. The merchants, fraternities, and children each had a night for parade, and a fête-night, a free-for-all, terminated the week's celebration. During the festivities Governor Mead entertained fellow Governors and many other distinguished guests, giving them a reception at the Executive Mansion.

There were no formal literary exercises held during the week. But as a very appropriate sequence to this anniversary celebration there has been published an historical pamphlet, in which has been gathered the most prominent and important items of early history, together with many views of the city and of the ancient town, making in the sum total a splendid historical document and Anniversary Souvenir, well worthy of a place alongside the historical annals of the State of Vermont.

Springfield and Weatherfield were chartered August 20, 1761, and the event was celebrated at Springfield on Sunday, August 20, by a grand open-air union service held on the old Common under the auspices of the General Lewis Morris Chapter, D. A. R. Many people from adjoining towns came to the celebration, swelling the audience to above one thousand four hundred souls. Rev. Ozera S. Davis, D. D., of Chicago, delivered the oration. The exercises were interspersed with congregational singing of some of the old and stirring, but never time-worn or outgrown, hymns.

Nature co-operating with the General Lewis Morris Chapter of the Daughters, made an ideal celebration of historical, educational, and religious values. It will long be cherished as a red letter day in the memory and life of all participants.

Tinmouth was chartered September 15, 1761, and on that day one hundred and fifty years later, held appropriate anniversary exercises. While the inclement weather of that day lessened the attendance, the enthusiasm and native inborn patriotism of the participants were not in the least dampened.

Tinmouh is entitled to fame as being the home of the famous Chipman family. The celebration was held in the meeting-house, the platform exercises being under the supervision of A. A. Hart, Esq., while E. C. Taylor, Esq., acted as master of ceremonies. Dinner was served in the Town Hall. Congressman D. J. Foster was the guest of honor and one of the speakers. Learnard R. Noble of West Rutland and the Rev. J. Hall Long of Vergennes, former

residents, delivered addresses, Miss Nina Stevens rendering most impressively "The Spirit of 1776."

The settlement of this town began about 1770, and it was organized March 11, 1777. On February 17 of that year a town-meeting was held, in which it was voted to raise money towards paying "Seth Warner's Regiment," and the following oath of allegiance was administered to the freemen of the town:

"You each of you swear, by the living God, that you believe for yourselves, that the King of Great Britain hath not any right to command, or authority in or over the States of America, and that you do not hold yourselves bound to yield any allegiance or obedience to him within the same, and that you will, to the utmost of your power, maintain and defend the freedom, independence, and privileges of the United States of America, against all enemies, or traitors, or conspirators, whatsoever: so help your God."

No other town in the State ever administered to its freemen a more solemn, vigorous, and patriotic compact.

Wallingford was chartered November 27, 1761, and settlement begun in 1773. The one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the charter granting was celebrated August 15-16, 1911. The main feature was an historical pageant and parade. The literary exercises were made up of addresses by His Excellency, the Governor, and other distinguished citizens, making in the aggregate a most appropriate celebration.

Best of all, Wallingford has just completed its Town History, a full and detailed account of its anniversary celebration very appropriately forming its final chapter.

The year 1911 was notable not only for its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary celebrations, but for an unusual spirit of progress along fraternal, educational, and historical lines. Among others, the following towns held these special celebrations: Athens, Chelsea, Franklin, Highgate, Pownal, and Vernon.

The little town of Athens held a grand Old Home Day celebration, August 22, 1911. The population of Athens is one hundred and seventy-five, but the attendance on this occasion outnumbered its population three-fold. No building in the town could accommodate this great crowd of people, the exercises being held on the lawn between the church and the schoolhouse. This was the greatest event in the history of Athens, friends and former residents coming from far and near. An appropriate literary programme was most effectually carried out. A well prepared historical address of much value was delivered by Rev. W. R. Davenport, and an appropriate poem was read by Mrs. Davenport, both being published in the local newspapers.

From August 14 to 20 Chelsea held an Old Home Week celebration. Perhaps more than any town in the State, Chelsea has entered into the spirit of Old Home Week, this being the sixth celebration of this kind held in the

town. In 1884 Chelsea celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of its settlement, and the proceedings were published in a substantial pamphlet of one hundred and twenty pages. Old Home Week celebrations in this town reached their zenith in 1909, when the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the town's settlement was memorialized. The proceedings of Old Home Week in 1901 were published in a forty-two page pamphlet, these publications making a most substantial history of the town.

On July 12, 1911, the Thirteenth Vermont Regimental Association held its twenty-third reunion at Highgate. The event was of unusual interest, being the occasion of the dedication of a beautiful white bronze monument, presented to his native town by Captain Henry B. Meigs of Baltimore, Maryland, who enlisted from Highgate in the Thirteenth Regiment of Vermont Volunteers, at the age of seventeen years. Fifteen hundred people attended this celebration, among whom were many of Vermont's most distinguished citizens. The St. Albans Brigade Band was in attendance. Captain Meigs presented the memorial in a feeling and patriotic speech, which was responded to by Doctor E. A. Bates, Chairman of the Selectmen, who accepted the gift in behalf of the town. The oration of the day was delivered by Rev. H. A. Griesmer, D. D., of Baltimore, one of the most gifted orators in the Southland. Brief speeches were made by Congressman Foster, Rev. E. J. Ranslow, and A. N. Nye. The Glee Club furnished appropriate music for the occasion.

It was to attend this reunion that Colonel Albert Clarke of Boston came to Vermont, where he was stricken with paralysis and died. He was an officer in this regiment.

No better idea can be given of the purpose of this monument than by quoting briefly from Captain Meigs' presentation speech.

"Mr. President: This day marks the fulfilment of a pleasing dream of nearly forty years' standing. For two score years I have believed that God, in His own good time, would enable me to erect here this monument of enduring bronze to my comrades, living and dead, of the War of 1861-5, and to Highgate soldiers of all the wars, including my own soldier father and grandfather, who are buried here."

Pownal held a unique celebration in 1911, erecting a memorial to the town and to James Fisk, Junior, its most distinguished native citizen, born there in 1834. Pownal is a corner town in Vermont, bordering on Massachusetts and on Vermont. It is claimed that it was settled by the Dutch as early as 1724, but, if this is true, it must have been a migratory settlement.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Third Vermont Regiment was held at St. Johnsbury, July 18, 1911. There was a grand reunion on the Fair Ground, unveiling and dedicating a rugged boulder, to mark the site of Camp Baxter,

the muster ground of their regiment. The boulder bears the following inscription:

SITE OF CAMP BAXTER,
THIRD VERMONT REGIMENT,
1861.
Erected by the Citizens of St. Johnsbury
July 16th, 1911.

The historical address was delivered by the Honorable Franklin G. Butterfield of Derby Line, Vermont, who was a member of the regiment. This address was printed in full in *The St. Johnsbury Republican.*

In the town of Vernon, on the site of Fort Bridgman on the Hubbard Farm, the Brattleboro Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, assisted by the town of Vernon, on June 27, 1911, held an important celebration, unveiling and dedicating a marker on the site of the old Fort, the historical address being delivered by the Honorable Kittredge Haskins of Brattleboro, Vermont.

The inscription on the marker, which is a handsome granite stone, over five feet high, is as follows:

"This rock marks the site of Fort Bridgman, the first white settlement in Vernon, Vt., built in 1737. The scene of many Indian massacres, sacked and burned by the Indians for the third time June 27th, 1755, after having slain Caleb Howe, and taken captive fourteen persons, among whom were his wife Jemima Howe, and her fourteen children. [The Seal of the Daughters of the American Revolution follows.] Land given for the purpose by the Hubbard Brothers, this boulder from the 'Howe Farm' was contributed by Hon. George E. Howe, a lineal descendant of Caleb and Jemima Howe. Erected by the town of Vernon, Vt., June 27th, 1911, tablet placed by Brattleboro Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution."

In August, 1912, Newbury, co-operating with its twin-sister town of Haverhill, will hold an Old Home Week, celebrating the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of their settlement. Markers will be erected by the town of Newbury at the beginning of the "Bayley-Hazen Road," which started from the northeasterly corner of the town where the village of Wells River is situated, and on the site of the old State House built for the convenience of the Legislature, which met there in 1787 and 1801.

The Oxbow Chapter of the D. A. R. will erect a marker on the site of the second meeting-house, which was also the County Court House with a jail. The Congregational Church, the second in the State (Bennington's church being the first), will erect a marker on the site of the first log meeting-house. All these markers will be located north of the present village, known as the Oxbow, where the town was centred in its early days.

The descendants of General Jacob Bayley will dedicate a monument, to be located in the centre of the village, to their illustrious ancestor. It is estimated that there are no less than two hundred of General Jacob Bayley's descendants now living in Newbury.

Among the officers in Colonel Goff's regiment at the Siege of Montreal were Lieutenant-Colonel, afterwards General, Jacob Bayley, Lieutenant Jacob Kent, Captain John Hazen, Lieutenant Timothy Bedel. On their homeward trip they followed the valley of the Connecticut River. A region in the valley about Newberry was known at that time as "The Coos Country," and here these officers of the Continental Army stopped with a view of making a settlement. Being impressed with the broad, clear, fertile intervales, they proceeded homeward, to interest neighbors in the project of a settlement.

In 1761 Bayley and Hazen came back to Coos with two or three men. They remained through the winter. In the spring of 1762 settlers began to arrive, and at the close of that year a dozen families had arrived to stay. Haverhill, on the opposite side of the river, in New Hampshire, was settled simultaneously. General Bayley was the leading man in Newbury, Captain Hazen standing in the same relation to Haverhill. Charters were granted to the two townships at the same time, May 18, 1763. The four soldiers whose names are mentioned above were the grantees heading the charters of both towns, General Bayley's name appearing first on the Newbury charter, and that of Captain Hazen on the other. Unlike any other of the one hundred and twenty-six towns chartered between 1749 and 1764, Newbury was the only one to have a vigorous and continuous settlement well under way before the granting of its charter. Its settlement was a leap into the northern wilderness. Charlestown, New Hampshire (Old Number 4), was the nearest settlement, and sixty miles away to the south. Many of Newbury's first settlers came by sled on the ice, and in boats on the Connecticut River, and others by tow-path and blazed trees on the river bank, or over the heights of land from Concord, New Hampshire.

Newbury was not long a frontier town. With the surrender of Montreal, the marauding parties of French and Indians were reduced to a minimum, and settlers pushed to the north rapidly, but Newbury was headquarters, and the depot of supplies for the north country until after the Revolutionary War. During the Revolution this town was headquarters for the Northern Division of the American Army, with General Bayley commander. It was from here that the second great military highway to Canada was started, "The Bayley-Hazen Military Road," recommended and begun by General Bayley in 1776 and finished by Colonel Moses Hazen in 1779.

CEDAR STREET HEDGE, NEAR EVERGREEN CEMETERY, PITTSFORD

TOWN CLERK'S OFFICE, PITTSFORD

FROM PHOTOGRAPH OF FLOAT IN THE PITTSFORD PAGEANT

FROM PHOTOGRAPH OF FLOAT IN THE PITTSFORD PAGEANT

Pittsford, Vermont

BY

S. K. BURBANK

Town Clerk and Treasurer of Pittsford

PITTSFORD'S CHARTER was granted October 12, 1761, to Ephraim Doolittle and sixty-three others. A branch of the old Crown Point Road in its passage through the town crossed Otter Creek, and was called Pitt's Ford, in honor of William Pitt, then prime minister of England, and when the town was chartered it was called Pittsford. Of the grantees but little is known. Most of them were residents of Massachussetts, though some came from New Hampshire and none ever had a permanent residence within its boundaries.

In 1775 a right was sold to Samuel Waters, but he did not occupy it until seven years later.

True to the spirit of the New England fathers, the framers of the charters of these Vermont townships made provision in every new settlement for the preaching of the Divine Word, setting apart one right or share of land in each for the first settled minister. As soon as the people became sufficiently numerous to be able to support preaching and a public place of worship they would send for a minister. The inhabitants were so few that they united with the inhabitants of Rutland in the support of a minister.

The Congregational Church was organized in 1784, the first in town. Eleazer Harwood was the first pastor and Nehemiah Hopkins deacon. The meetings were held in the private houses until about 1790, when they were held in the school house.

The Baptist Church was organized with Elder Rich to serve them as pastor. He was installed March 17, 1785.

The proprietors of the township at a meeting held September 3, 1771, "voted to give Samuel Crippen fifty acres of land if he would get a good grist mill fit to grind by the first of December next—said land to consist of thirty acres on the brook. He shall choose, with the allowance for the ground for sawmill, twenty acres of land lying on the north side of said Crippen lot he now lives on."

April 14, 1772, "voted to give Mr. Crippen to the first of September to build the grist mill upon the said condition that he build a good mill."

April 20, 1773, "voted to give Jonathan Fassit fifty acres of land lying upon the brook, upon the conditions he gets a good sawmill agoing before the first of December next and keep it in repair for five years."

Jonathan Fassit as the first representative to the General Assembly in 1778.

The one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the grant of the town charter was celebrated on August 15, 1911. The charter itself, which is in a good state of preservation, was exhibited during the commemoration.

The citizens of Pittsford formed in a procession which consisted of two hundred and sixty carriages, automobiles, and floats representing the early scenes and characters of the town, two hundred school children, the benevolent orders and societies of the town, headed by the Pittsford Military Band.

After marching through the principal streets the procession disbanded at the new Lothrop School Building, the celebration being held in connection with laying the corner-stone of that edifice.

The exercises were in charge of the Honorable Ernest Hitchcock, Chairman of the School Building Committee. The ceremonies were opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. J. E. C. Sawyer, pastor of the local Methodist Episcopal Church. A letter of regret at unavoidable absence from Governor Mead was read, after which Rev. C. H. Smith, pastor of the local Congregational Church, delivered an address upon the past history of the town, followed by Rev. J. A. Lynch, pastor of the Catholic Church of Pittsford, who spoke on the uses of the school building.

The corner-stone of the building, which is to accommodate eight grades, was then laid, the oldest man in town, Mr. William B. Shaw, ninety-six years old, performing the ceremony.

Pittsford has many points of interest, among them being the Walker Memorial Building, presented to the Maclure Library Association by Doctor Henry F. Walker of New York, who has his summer residence here. This library is the oldest public library but one in the State.

Opposite the Library is the Town Clerk's Office, built in 1909, of which the town may well be proud.

St. Johnsbury, Vermont

BY

EDWARD T. FAIRBANKS

Librarian of the St. Johnsbury Athenæum

TWO months before the Declaration of Independence, on May 4, 1776, the Colony of Rhode Island deliberately abjured the British crown and set up a sovereignty of its own. The man who drew up the act, in whose handwriting it still exists, was Jonathan Arnold, afterward surgeon in the army and a member of the Continental Congress, where, against great odds, he advocated the claims of the Green Mountain Boys.

Dr. Arnold was the founder and chief proprietor of the town of St. Johnsbury, the charter of which, dated November 1, 1776, was issued to him and twenty associates. In 1787 he set up mills on the Passumpsic River and cleared forty acres on the Plain above, he proposed to build up a city. His death six years later, and that of his brilliant son, Josias Lyndon, shortly after, changed the course of things, and for forty years St. Johnsbury was not conspicuous among the towns of Caledonia County.

The town received its name from M. St. John de Crevecoeur, a French gentleman and adventurer who become an enthusiastic American and promoter of American interests in France.

Organization of the town was effected June 21, 1790, with Jonathan Arnold moderator and clerk; Joel Roberts, Joseph Lord, Martin Adams, selectmen; and Jonathan Adams, treasurer. The first town representative was General Joel Roberts.

There were no events of note during the early years, though the repeated vote of the town not to build a meeting-house nor provide for preaching the Gospel was notably contrary to prevailing usage. Eighteen years passed before there was a house of worship, and five more before the organization of a Church, in 1809. This, the First Congregational, multiplied in after years into four of the same order. Of the thirteen churches now in the town, four are Congregational, two Methodist, two Baptist, two Catholic, one Universalist, one Episcopalian, one Adventist. The church edifices of the North Congregational and the Catholic Church of Nôtre Dame are among the finest in the State.

In 1830 Thaddeus Fairbanks invented and patented the platform scale, and with his brothers, Erastus and Joseph P., established the industry that has given the town its growth and distinction. Some ten thousand varieties of weighing machines have been constructed in these works, under nearly two hundred patents, and ranging in capacity from a tenth of a grain to five

hundred tons. They are recognized as standard in all parts of the world. The capital of the corporation is two and a half million dollars, and here capital and labor have mingled in friendly relationship for eighty-two years.

The Huxham Paddock Iron Works, 1828, did large business in their day. The Ely Hoe & Fork Works, 1848, have high reputation. Many other industries of more recent date are now important. The largest maple sugar market in the world, Towle Log Cabin, is in this town.

The St. Johnsbury Academy, 1842, has for seventy years held a front rank among New England schools. It has a valuable plant of large, well appointed buildings, and a faculty of fourteen instructors.

The St. Johnsbury Athenaeum, 1871, includes a public library of 19,000 volumes, and an art gallery, the central feature of which is Bierstadt's Domes of the Yosemite, with sixty-five other carefully selected works of art. This was the first public town library in the State provided with adequate building and endowments.

The Museum of Natural Science, 1891, not extensive but ranking with the best, has costly collections of wide range, in a beautiful building. Through affiliation with the public schools, its work is of great practical value.

The above three institutions were founded and endowed by members of the Fairbanks family. To the Academy, generous gifts have also come from the alumni.

St. Johnsbury Plain, the principal village, is most picturesquely situated, with four adjoining villages clustered around it, all under one municipal government. For sixty years no saloon has been allowed in the town. The marks of industry, thrift, and prosperity are everywhere seen. Streets and grounds are well kept, and there are many elegant residences and many more that are modest and attractive.

FROM PHOTOGRAPH OF FLOAT IN THE PITTSFORD PAGEANT

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STONE BRIDGE AT PITTSFORD

SANITARIUM AT PITTSFORD

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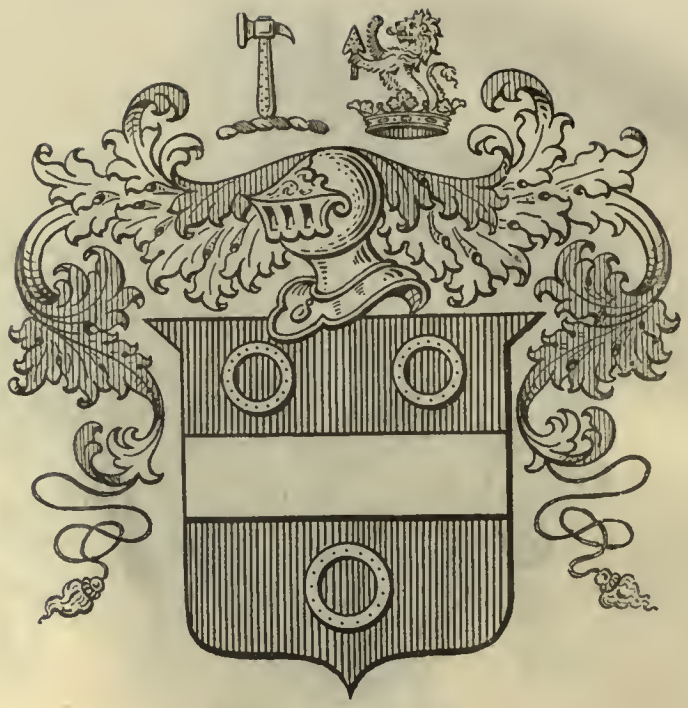

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The Journal of American History

English Ancestry of American Families

Their Social, Political, and Physicial Conditions in Feudal Times

BY

ALPHONZO BENJAMIN BOWERS

PRIOR to the invention of printing, when historical and other records and the literature of the world could be found only in written books and manuscripts which were scarce, expensive, and not easily accessible, none but the cultured few, the rich and the powerful, knew, cared to know, or could know much of their family histories, save that to be gleaned from the orally transmitted traditions of their own and kindred families.

Genealogical records of kings, and of nobles sometimes greater than kings, have been tabulated from time immemorial and religiously kept up with the passing years; but even of these it is not often shown who first emerged from plebeian or peasant obscurity. Power in its incipiency has been of slow growth. Generation after generation furnished its increment of wealth and influence, until some one

became strong enough to prey on his neighbors, seize their possessions, proclaim himself sovereign, and enforce his demands. The power of many of the old, historic families seems to have grown out of the Machiavellian maxim, "Let him get, who will, and let him keep, who can," in the right of might, in the power of the sword; though many of these, even in the olden time, did valiant work for their country and humanity, and scores of their descendants have been and still are eminent, not only in warfare, but in science, philanthropy, and the arts of progress and peace.

Other families of less note preserved a knowledge of their kinship by the use of prefixes and suffixes, such as Fitz, Mac, O', Ap, Sen, Son, etc., but most of the Johnsons, Fitzgeralds, and Ap Williams forgot, in the course of time, from which John, Gerald, or William they had sprung. The same is true of those using other suffixes and prefixes.

During the prevalence of the feudal system, most of the lands in England were held, not in allodium, but *in capite* from the Crown. William the Conqueror confiscated all lands not belonging to the Church and divided all of these, not reserved for himself, into seven hundred baronies or great fiefs, which he bestowed upon his relatives, friends, and those who had rendered him signal service. These baronies were subdivided into sixty thousand, one hundred and twenty-five knight's fees. A knight's fee was usually two carucates (about one hundred acres of land). All who held lands directly *in capite* from the crown were termed barons and their lands were baronies.

Each baron was lord of his own manor or manors and ruled his little kingdom, within certain limits, almost unchecked. He divided his knight's fees among his Norman knights and soldiers, and rendered homage to the crown and knight's service for each knight's fee that he possessed—knight's service in armor, on horseback, for forty days each year. These knight's fees were held by sub-tenants of the tenant-in-chief, who held *in capite* from the king. These sub-tenants were Norman knights, esquires, and yeomen—the more important residents of each county; and knight's service was one of the conditions under which they held their lands from the baron-lords of the manors.

When personal service by the knights was inconvenient or troublesome, they sent substitutes, and in 1159 the barons accepted the king's proposition to pay an annual assessment, called scutage, in lieu of knight's service. By this means the king destroyed the military strength of his barons and substituted a far more convenient and reliable system of his own, thereby vastly increasing his independence and power. The first levy was about two marks to each knight's fee. At one time it was £5. In the reign of William II it was raised by statute to £50 per annum; but in Magna Charta it was provided that no knight's fees could be levied except by Act of Parliament, thus depriving the king of much of his power.

No Englishman held any of these manors. He was in rare good luck to get one of the knight's fees. Sir Matthew Hale states that several generations elapsed

after the Conquest before a single family of Saxon pedigree was advanced to any considerable honor or could obtain the rank of baron. Their lines under William had fallen in hard places.

A single manor was the smallest of all lordships or baronies. Some of the great barons held hundreds of manors. In the course of time, many of the smaller barons lost their baronial titles, remaining merely lords of their manors, the so-called landed gentry. These, like the great barons, were, soon after the Conquest and prior to the use of surnames, known by the prefix *de* after their Christian names and before the names of their estates, or sometimes before the names of the towns or provinces from which they came. These names, in the course of time, often became their surnames, some of them retaining the *de* and others dropping it. Some of these, and many of their younger sons, as well as those of higher historic renown, to a much later date than is generally supposed, even down to the last quarter of the seventeenth century, could neither write nor read. Like many unlettered nobles of higher rank, and some of the earlier kings, they employed clerks, not only to keep their accounts, but to do their writing and reading, even this latter being deemed by most, though there were notable exceptions, a menial occupation, beneath the dignity of a man of rank or means. "How do you suppose I know?" exclaimed an indignant Englishman, when asked how to spell his name. "Do you take me for a clark [clerk]? I am a gentleman, sir!"

Different members of a family often pronounced the surname with different intonations or accents, whence it came to pass that the secretary of the son often wrote the name with a spelling differing from that adopted by the secretary of the father, to the great confusion in after years of family records and relationships. Representatives of the lower classes learned to read and write, when they could, as a means for making their living.

Different spellings of the surname were often intentional and frequently found in a single document written by the same man. In many cases this diversity of spelling eventually resulted in total forgetfulness of consanguinity.

Most men, as already stated, cared little, then, for family records, or how their names were written. They sought only their own personal aggrandizement and, therefore, long after the advent of the printing press, most family annals, except of royal lines and of the higher nobility, and sometimes even these, were meagre and obscure. Notwithstanding this diversity of spelling, the early history of a family of note can be made out with accuracy and considerable fullness from church records of membership, marriages, births, baptisms, and deaths (very complete in those days), in connection with records of wills, deeds, donations, suits in chancery, letters, and other public and private documents and manuscripts, in which it is frequently found, even in wills, that the surnames of father, sons, and brothers differ each from the others. To straighten this out involves an amount of research and painstaking labor little appreciated by those most benefited thereby. The knowledge that one has had an honest, industrious, law-abiding,

patriotic ancestry is a powerful incentive to the emulation of these virtues, the upholding of family honor, and the uplifting of its name, while the absence of records is regarded by many as proof of recent, if not present, plebiancy. He who presents us with such incentives to good citizenship and right living is a public benefactor, entitled to public as well as private recognition, encouragement, and regard.

Many titles of honor and distinction in the fatherland have in this country lost their significance, without a proper knowledge of which the early records, English and American, are imperfectly understood.

The clergy ranked with the highest in importance, influence, and social standing, and has always been largely composed of the younger sons of noble or otherwise prominent families. The Archbishop of Canterbury is even now the highest peer of the realm.

Barons or lords, as I have stated, were those who held their lands *in capite* from the Crown. They were entitled to armorial bearings, knighthood, and the titles just given.

A baronet ranked above a plain landless knight, but below the younger sons of the barons; he was entitled to the prefix of Sir before his name, and his wife to that of Lady.

A knight banneret was one who was knighted on the field of battle for gallantry there shown, had precedence over a mere knight, and was entitled to display a banner, instead of the usual pennant of knighthood. These banners were small flags borne on their lances.

Knighthood was next in rank below knight banneret.

An esquire was the attendant of a knight. He carried the knight's arms and shield, assisted the knight in donning his armor and mounting his horse, and sometimes fought by his side. He was practically a knight's apprentice and received the rank and title of knight when he arrived at proper age and efficiency in the use of arms. In the course of time this title of esquire lest its original significance and became a title of honor and distinction in civil life, implying a rank between that of knighthood and gentleman, after the latter had acquired a broader signification than it had at first.

At the close of the sixteenth century, according to Camden, there were four classes entitled to be called esquire: first, the eldest sons of knights and their eldest sons; second, the eldest sons of peers and their eldest sons; third, esquires created by royal letters patent and their eldest sons; fourth, esquires of office, *i. e.,* justices of the peace and others holding offices of trust from the Crown.

Lord had also changed its significance and was applied not only to a feudal superior who held his lands *in capite,* but was also used as a less formal term for the full title of a Marquis, Earl, or Viscount. It is now further applied in England to the holder of any foreign title, to mayors of cities, and to various commissioners and other officers of responsibility and trust.

A gentleman was a landowner with comfortable income, entitled to Arms, well born and bred, but not of noble birth, as De Brett says, "Strictly speaking, the gentry conferred by the lawful bearing of Arms." The term was afterwards applied to one who had the manners and breeding of a gentleman, with sufficient income to enable him to lead a life of leisure without work. This was what the term implied in our Colonial records and legal documents down to about the beginning of the nineteenth century.

"Mr." was applied to yeomen of the higher class—men of considerable wealth, intelligence, and local influence. They were eligible to the position and often became members of Parliament.

A yeoman was a freeholder, free born; of a class intermediate between the Gentry and common laborers. They also were occasionally, though rarely, members of Parliament. Many, even of these, tilled with their own hands their own lands.

Each and all of the foregoing were often descendants of noble families and, after the Conquest, almost exclusively of Norman stock for several generations.

These were the significations of those terms when our forefathers first settled in America.

Men of the great, unlettered peasantry, obliged to labor two or more days, sometimes every work-day in the week, for their lords, comprising, at one time, three-quarters—some say nine-tenths—of the population formed a sub-stratum, having soon after the Conquest no chance for advancement and deemed of little account, save to do the bidding of their masters and fight their battles, though possessed, even then, of a sturdy spirit that preserved them from many of the indignities suffered by the peasantry of Continental Europe, and which eventually won their freedom. They were known in those early times simply as Tom, the Tailor, Bill, the Smith, etc., from which occupations, as they improved their conditions, came many of their surnames, and from the descendants of this class have arisen numerous noted families and great men.

A vivid picture of the life of this class is found in the famous old English dialogue of the beginning of the eleventh century.

Says the *plowman*: "I work hard; I go out at daybreak, driving the oxen to the field, and I yoke them to the plow. Be it never so stark winter, I dare not linger at home for awe of my lord; but, having yoked my oxen, and fastened share and coulter, every day I must plow a full acre or more. I have a boy driving the oxen with a goad-iron, who is hoarse with cold and shouting. And I do more also. I have to fill the oxen's bins [mangers] with hay, and water them, and take out their litter. . . . Mighty hard work it is, for I am not free."

The *shepherd* says: "In the first of the morning I drive my sheep to their pasture, and stand over them, in heat and in cold, with my dogs, lest the wolves swallow them up; and I lead them back to their folds, and milk them twice a day,

and their folds I move; and I make cheese and butter, and I am true to my lord."

The *ox-herd* says: "When the plowman unyokes the oxen, I lead them to pasture, and all night I stand over them, waking against thieves; and then again in the early morning I betake them, well filled and watered, to the plowman.

The *king's-hunter* says: "I braid me nets, and set them in fit places, and set my hounds to follow up the wild game, till they come unsuspecting to the net and are caught therein; and I slay them in the net. . . . With swift hounds I hunt down wild game. I take harts and bears and bucks and roes, and sometimes hares. I give the king what I take, because I am his hunter. He clothes me well, and feeds me, and sometimes gives me a horse or an arm-ring that I may pursue my craft the more merrily."

The *fisher* (a freeman), who gets victuals and clothes and money by his craft, says: "I go on board my boat and cast my net into the river, and cast my angle and baits, and what they catch I take. I cast the unclean [fish] away, and take me the clean for meat. The citizens buy my fish. I cannot catch as many as I could sell. Eels and pike, minnows and eel-pout, trout and lampreys." Sometimes he fishes in the sea, "But seldom, for it is a great row for me to the sea." He catches there "herring and lax [salmon], porpoises and sturgeons, oysters and crabs, mussels, periwinkles, sea-cockles, plaice and fluke, and lobsters, and many of the like. . . . It is a perilous thing to catch a whale. It is pleasanter for me to go to the river with my boat than to go with many boats whale-hunting."

The *fowler* witnesses: "In many ways I trick the birds—sometimes with nets, with gins, with lime, with whistling, with a hawk, with traps." His hawks "feed themselves and me in winter, and in Lent I let them fly off to the woods; and catch me young birds in harvest, and tame them. But many feed the tame ones the summer over, that they may have them ready again."

Of *craftsmen* there are mentioned "ironsmiths, goldsmiths, silversmiths, coppersmiths, woodwrights, shoewrights," "who make out of hides and fells, shoes of various kinds, leather hose, and bottles, bridle-thongs and horse trappings, flasks and hide-vats, spur-leathers and halters, purses and pouches."

The *merchant* says: "I go aboard my ship with my goods, and go over sea and sell my things, and buy precious things which are not produced in this country, and bring them hither to you. . . . pall [brocade] and silk, precious gems and gold, various raiment and dye-stuffs, wine and oil, ivory and mastling [brass-stone], copper and tin, sulphur and glass, and the like. And I wish to sell them dearer here than I buy them there, that I may get some profit wherewith I may feed myself and my wife and my sons."

Though not ranking with gentlemen, socially, merchants enjoyed a goodly degree of freedom and often surpassed the gentry in wealth and luxurious living. "In those early times, the women servants and menials about the yeoman's or gentleman's house were absolute slaves and were bought and sold as cattle; while the laborers, though serfs, had protection in the 'custom' of the place, which lim-

ited their lord's right over them, and they lived in their little cottages and not at their masters' houses."

The transmigration of races is not difficult to follow. To trace the migrations of a family from country to country through a score of centuries requires an interest in the subject and in the science of sociology combined with patience and persistency possessed by few, and which would be impossible even to these, but for old manuscripts in ancient as well as modern languages, found and continually being found in the Old World, buried in the gloom and rubbish of monasteries, cloisters, nunneries, abbeys, priories, ancient libraries, old castles, dungeons, vaults, tombs, under cornerstones of buildings, in the records of courts, in the ruins of ancient cities, and even in peasant huts,—where they have been preserved, in some cases merely as souvenirs, in others, as proofs of former greatness,—and often in old chests or boxes in cellars and garrets where they have lain undisturbed for centuries.

Scores of historic families, long extinct, in Southern Europe and Asia Minor, worked their way northward through Russia, Germany, and Denmark into Finland, Sweden, and Norway, to appear later in Normandy, Brittany, England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales—kings and chieftains for thousands of years, reigning dukes, jarles, earls, robber barons, vikings, etc.; always leaders; everywhere dominating the people among whom they lived; dwelling for centuries in these countries and some of them to the present hour: while others, now extinct in these countries also, are flourishing in pristine physical vigor, though generally with reduced fortunes and prestige, but still influential, in other lands: and descendants of these families, some of whom are still living in the British Isles, are making their mark all over the globe.

Many intelligent people formerly looked with disfavor upon pedigrees, and family histories as foolish exhibitions of vanity and family pride, oblivious apparently of the fact that these histories are mostly composed of prosaic records of the births, marriages, and decease of scores of commonplace people, with only here and there one who rose above the common level. But, even so, the plain, common people have been the backbone of the nations, the main reliance in times of peril. Well has it been said by Oliver Goldsmith:

> "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey
> Where wealth accumulates and men decay;
> Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade—
> A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
> But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
> When once destroyed can never be supplied."

Not only the family, but the Nation, may well be proud of the fact that most American families have been composed of honest, upright, industrious, law-

abiding, patriotic people, prompt in the defence of their rights, and ready to shed their blood for country and kindred and home.

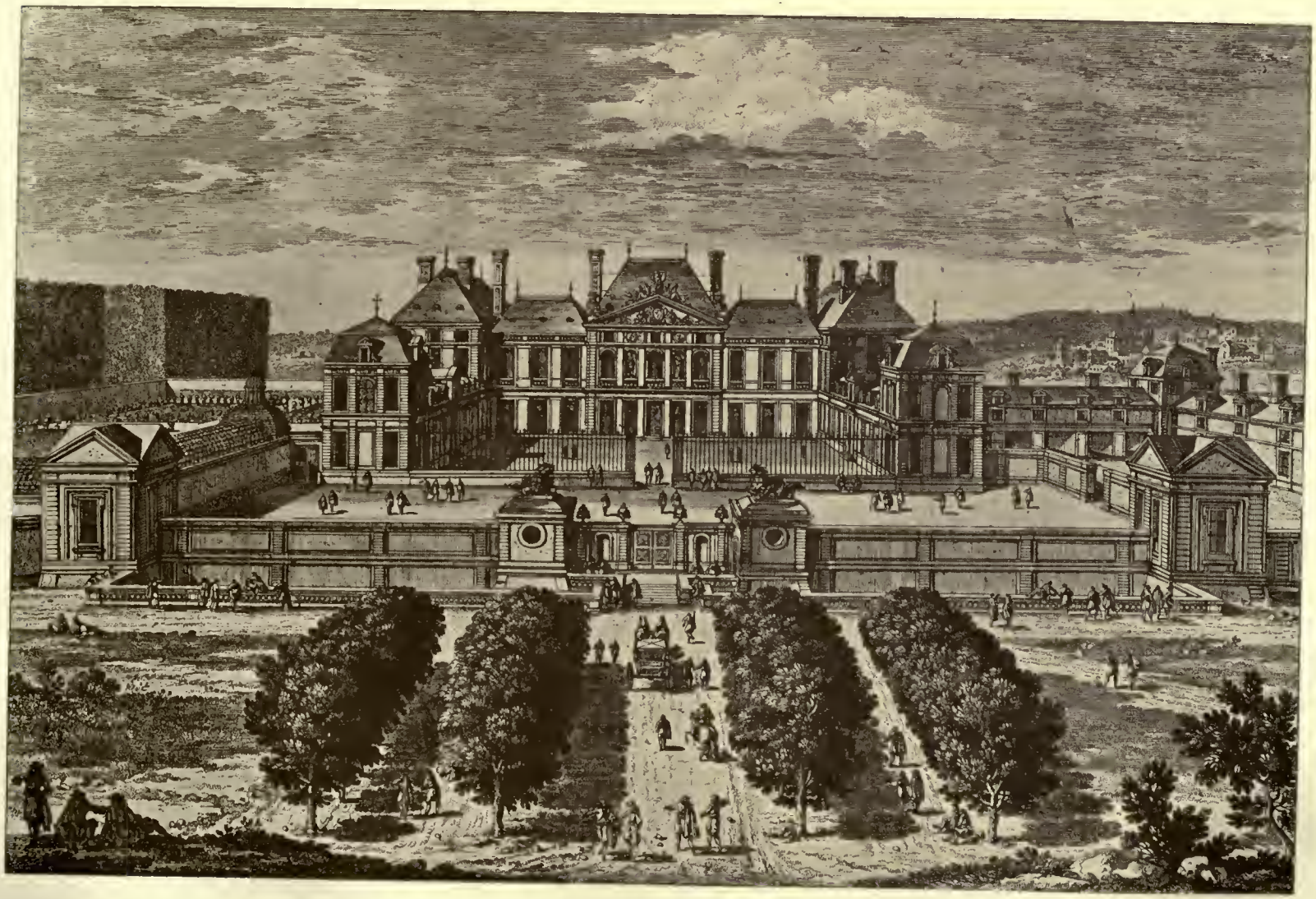
There are others who say, when the family history shows a few illustrious ancestors (as most family histories do), why publish the fact of family decadence? In other words, why publish the facts of history? Why give people a chance to study the errors of the past and profit from the experience of their predecessors? But the assumption of decadence is unwarranted. Most families have improved, risen in the scale of refinement and intelligence, so that it takes a much greater man to stand out above the common level now than it did in the days of yore. And yet, as occasion calls, new men, equal to any emergency, are continually coming up from the ranks, and will continue to do so until the end of time.

The value of a horse, cat, or dog, depends largely upon its pedigree: so also of all our domestic animals and poultry. That the same is true of fruits, vegetables, and flowers has been abundantly shown by Burbank.

Our horses are fast or slow, weak or strong, gentle or vicious, intelligent or otherwise, according to their ancestry; our oxen fat or lean; our cows fit for the dairy or the slaughter-house; our ducks and geese and hens prolific layers, or fit only for the larder, according to this same great law that applies to every living creature—every growing thing.

Sensible men have improved the mental, moral, physical, spiritual, and other characteristics of their families by judicious mating, finding suitable companions for this purpose more lovable and congenial than others; and pedigrees of families and of all living, growing, animate, or inanimate things are not only of national, but of world-wide importance.

Students of sociology, ethnology, and eugenics are finding in the study of family pedigrees more than anywhere else keys to the solution of many knotty problems of vital importance to the uplifting of the race—factors of acknowledged importance in regard to the animal and vegetable kingdoms, but strange to say, of scant practical recognition of their potency as applied to the sons and daughters of men.



CHATEAU DE SCEAUX

COURT OF THE DUCHESSE DE MAINE AT SCEAUX

Louis Auguste de
Bourbon, Duc du Maine,

DUCHESSE DE MAINE

Edmond Charles Genet

First Minister Plenipotentiary From the Republic of France to the Republic of the United States & His Family, His Career, and the Reasons For His Recall

BY

LOUIS FRANKLIN FACIO GENET

Grandson of "Citizen Genet" and His Wife, Cornelia Clinton

PART I

THE SECOND ADMINISTRATION of George Washington began with many vexatious questions to adjust—questions requiring the utmost prudence on the part of the Executive.

The condition of affairs in France, her recent declaration of war against England, Spain, and Holland, gave the President no small concern, which was greatly added to by the bitterness of the strife between the Federal and Anti-Federal parties. Hamilton was the leader of the Federalists, and Jefferson of the Anti-Federalists, both members of the Cabinet. This fact took the factional feelings into the deliberations of the Cabinet, and in many instances taxed the judgment of Washington to avoid unpleasant encounters.

Colonel William Smith had returned from France in the early part of January, 1793, and had reported to Washington and Jefferson the state of affairs in France, and the feeling there against Gouvernor Morris, then representing the United States at that Court. Morris had made himself unpopular by openly expressing his sympathies for the Royal Family, then in prison, and by his criticisms of the members of the Executive Committees, whom he openly denounced as "a set of damned rascals."

Colonel Smith reported that the Executive Assembly had chosen Genet as successor to Ternant and that Genet was to be sent here with full plenipotentiary powers, to negotiate a new treaty between the United States and the Republic of France, and to adjust on some equitable basis the payments of the amounts owing by the United States to France.

Washington realized that Morris would have to be recalled, and appealed to Jefferson for his opinion and suggestions. Jefferson proposed sending Morris to the Court of St. James, and sending Pinckney from the Court of St. James to France. Washington deemed that unwise, bearing the semblance of a mere makeshift. The President then suggested that, inasmuch as Mr. Jefferson had deter-

mined to resign from the position of Secretary of State, he consent to being appointed Minister to France. Jefferson demurred, giving several reasons, one of which was that he wished to retire to a private life. Washington's retort was that Jefferson had persuaded him to accept a renomination and remain in the public service, but he (Jefferson) must retire to the enjoyment of a peaceful life, the very thing that he (Washington) coveted. The question of a successor to Morris remained in abeyance.

Affairs in France had been going from bad to worse. The Royal Family were prisoners in the Temple. France had been declared a Republic, directed by a series of Executive Committees. War had been declared against England, Spain, and Holland. Other monarchies, either coalescing with the powers at war with France or under neutral agreements, left France without an ally other than the United States. The Provisional Assembly had deemed it best to recall Ternant, then representing France at the United States, and to send a representative of republican principles in his stead; and, at the suggestion of Le Brun, then Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Edmond Charles Genet was selected as the one best fitted for the mission as Minister Plenipotentiary from the Republic of France to the Republic of the United States of North America.

As so much has been written about the attitude of this man while acting in the above capacity, it is of considerable interest to know just who he was, what was his history, what his lineage, and why he was chosen for the mission.

The Genet ancestry is very ancient, according to records of the family, dating back to the Seventh Century. These records were unfortunately lost during the Reign of Terror, when every evidence of royalty and nobility was ordered destroyed. The family were possessed of large estates and important titles in the old province of Burgundy. They had made eminent alliances, which, in some instances, added greater dignity to their standing. But in the Sixteenth Century, or about that period, misfortunes assailed them, and their estates passed away to such an extent that they were induced to become vintagers.

In the early part of the reign of Louis XIV Edmé Genet, the grandfather of the principal of this article, being the eldest son and the then head of the family, which at that time was seated at Dannemoine, near Tonnerre, France, a young man of high mental attainments, ambitious, and longing for an occupation more in accord with his tastes and accomplishments, determined to leave his home, and to seek new fields for the better employment of his talents. With the consent and approval of his family, and provided with some letters of introduction to prominent persons in Paris, he departed for that city in quest of those channels through which he hoped to effect his laudable purpose. He was not disappointed. While at Paris he was invited to visit the Duchesse de Maine, in her chateau at Sceaux, near Paris. This magnificent establishment, formerly the home of Colbert, the famous Minister of Louis XIV, had been purchased by the husband of the Duchesse, the Duc de Maine, son of the King and Madame de Montespan.

It was here that the Duchesse held the grand fêtes and various entertainments so often alluded to by historical writers. She was supreme sovereign at Sceaux and surrounded herself with a little court of men and women of high rank and of eminent literary, scientific, and musical, as well as dramatic, abilities and attainments.

In 1710 Edmé Genet was a guest at Sceaux, during the festivities for the marriage between the sister of the Duchesse de Maine and the Duc de Vendôme, recently returned from his triumph over the Austrians at the Battle of Villaviciosa in Spain.

The young Genet took part in the production of the plays which the Duchesse de Maine was so fond of giving, and in other ways made his talents and excellencies known among his fellow guests. One of these was Giulio Alberoni, later the celebrated Cardinal Alberoni and Prime Minister of Spain. He became so impressed with Edmé Genet's personality and abilities that he tendered him a secretaryship. Genet accepted this and in 1711 accompanied Alberoni to Spain, the latter himself going as Secretary to the Duc de Vendôme. Since the Duchesse de Maine, the sister-in-law of Vendôme, had shown so many social attentions to Edmé Genet, it may be that it was to some extent her influence which obtained for him this appointment in the train of her sister's husband.

The emoluments of his position were large, and the opportunities for fruitful speculation, of which he availed himself, resulted in the accumulation of a considerable fortune. He sent for his brother (known as Genet de Belle Isle). He, too, was fortunate in his financial activities, and, marrying a Spanish lady of rank and wealth, remained in Spain.

Alberoni's attempts to strengthen Spain's policies abroad resulted disastrously. The Government blamed him and in 1719 he was ordered to leave Spain.

It was probably at this time that Edmé Genet returned to Paris, where he purchased a magistracy and invested in city property and state securities. Being prudent and of domestic habits, he concluded to marry, addressing with that purpose a charming young lady of a prominent Holland family named De Quay.

Edmé Genet was tall, handsome, and of a very commanding presence, but of austere manners and views. By his marriage he had two sons, Edmé Jacques and Genet de Charmontot. The latter was sickly, never married, but lived to a good old age, beloved for his gentleness and amiability.

Edmé Jacques Genet was destined for a prominent career. His father's austerity affected him very much, and made his home life irksome. He was highly educated and a great student. Through the intercession of a solicitous and loving mother his father's consent was obtained to travel abroad for further educational purposes. He had already met a young lady, Mademoiselle Marie Louise Cardon, and had fallen in love with her. She was of a distinguished old family of Bierne of Spanish origin. She was handsome, of engaging manners, and intellectual. She returned young Genet's love, and on his return to Paris they were married.

Genet had made many valuable acquaintances, and had formed friendly associations in the more prominent literary circles. He was appointed Chief of the Bureau of Languages in the Foreign Office and established himself at Versailles.

An important work of his on the English navy, the result of his observations and research while he was in England, brought him to the favorable notice of Louis XV, who, at the suggestion of the Duc de Choiseul, advanced him in his position, so as to include under his direction the Bureau of Languages of the War and Navy Department. His work on the English navy was considered so important that he was sent to England as Counsellor to the Embassy, to enable him to revise it. He wrote and published many other works of a political and scientific character.

His home was a centre for the many great men of his time, both French and of other nationalities. Jefferson, Adams, and Franklin were frequent guests.

His wife had two brothers. One, Cardon de Tersile, went to the West Indies in 1757 as Captain of the Engineer Corps and *aide* to General Beauharnais, who was Captain-General of the West India Islands. He was promoted by Beauharnais to be Chief Engineer of Martinique. While *aide* to Beauharnais he frequently met Josephine, the General's wife. In after years, through this acquaintance, Josephine and Madame Campan (Genet's daughter), met and became attached friends. The younger brother of Madame Genet, Cardon de Bierne, distinguished himself at the Siege of Cassel. He then went to Martinique as Engineer, but had been there only twelve hours when he died of yellow fever.

Edmé Jacques Genet died in 1781, survived by his wife and five children.

He was a man of excellent physique, of loving nature, highly intellectual, a charming and entertaining host, constant in his duties, faithful to his sovereign. In politics he was liberal, leaning to republicanism. He appreciated the trend of public sentiment and was apprehensive of the ultimate outcome. At his death all Departments of the Government were closed and his memory was honored by a public and military funeral.

The five children surviving him were as follows: Jeanne Louise Henriette, Adelaide, Julie, Sophie, and Edmond Charles.

The first named, when but fifteen years old, was appointed reader to the Princesses, the daughters of Louis XV. In this capacity she was acting when Marie Antoinette arrived at Paris as Dauphine. Meeting Mademoiselle Genet, who was near her own age, and recognizing her talents, the Dauphine soon became attached to her and "included her in the circle of her more intimate friends." This was in 1770. On the death of Louis XV in 1774, when Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette ascended the throne of France, at the instance of the Queen Mademoiselle Genet married Monsieur Campan, the Queen's private secretary, and was appointed by the Queen First Lady of the Bed-Chamber, a position formerly held by the Baronne de Misery. The Queen added to this distinction the important post of Treasuress, and still permitted Madame Campan to retain her agreeable position as reader to the Royal Princesses, as they were greatly attached to her.

Mme. CAMPAN.

CHATEAU D'ECOUEN, WHERE NAPOLEON LOCATED HIS IMPERIAL SCHOOL, PLACING MADAME CAMPAN AT ITS HEAD

The career of this noble woman is so well known that it is not necessary to dwell upon it here. Her identity with the unfortunate King and Queen, her devotion to, and sacrifices for her Royal mistress, the harrowing scenes through which they passed together, the confidence reposed in her by her sovereign, all rendered her more than ordinarily prominent,—a prominence which at times gave her much anxiety. The court was a bed of jealousies, animosities, and envious intrigues.

The Memoirs of Marie Antoinette by Madame Campan are an authority, and justly distinguish her as a writer of ability. After the terrors of the French Revolution, she established a school at St. Germain. This she was obliged to do, as her estates had been confiscated, and all her personal effects destroyed. It was at this school at St. Germain that Josephine visited her, to place in her charge her son, Eugene, and her daughter, Hortense. Josephine was then just married to Napoleon and was to depart with him for Italy. It was at this school also that Mr. Monroe placed his daughter, Eliza, a charming young lady, to whom Madame Campan was greatly attached. At the same time Mr. Pinckney also sent his two daughters there. Madame Campan speaks with gratitude of Mr. Monroe and Mr. Pinckney for their consideration in advancing the tuition, as just at that time money was very scarce, and she had great difficulty in financing her school.

On Napoleon's return from Italy, he placed his youngest sister, Pauline, in the care of Madame Campan and when he established the Imperial School at Écouen he selected Madame Campan as the fittest person for the position of Superintendent. This position she maintained for seven years, with credit and honor to herself, and to the satisfaction of Napoleon.

After the fall of the Emperor, Madame Campan retired to private life, devoting her time to writing. She had one child, a son, Henri, who died in early manhood, before his mother.

The second daughter of Edmé Jacques Genet was Julie, "the sunshine of the household," as Madame Campan says. She married Monsieur Rousseau, a member of the Royal Household. Shortly after their marriage, when attending some court function, Louis XV commented on their appearance, pronouncing them "the handsomest couple he had ever seen." Madame Rousseau was selected by Marie Antoinette as First Lady of the Dauphin's household. This child (the first Dauphin), was very fond of her, and when being held by her, shortly before his death, he looked up and exclaimed: "I love thee so much, Rousseau, that I think I shall still love thee after I am dead."

Madame Rousseau had several children, and their descendants are living in France today, prominent in literary circles. She had the sorrow of seeing her husband pass to the guillotine, decapitated for his loyalty to the Royal Family. Madame Rousseau was a close friend of Madame Vigée Le Brun, and contributed largely to the enjoyment of her visits to the Court.

The third daughter of Edmé Jacques Genet, Adelaide, became also a favorite of Marie Antoinette. She was a woman of many accomplishments and of engaging manners. In her frequent visits to her sister, Madame Campan, she attracted the attention of the Queen, who requested Madame Campan to ask her father to consent to having her placed among the young ladies comprising the inmates of the Queen's Chamber. This request was complied with by Monsieur Genet, making three daughters then members of the Royal Household. The Queen solicited her to marry Monsieur Auguié, the Commissary-General of the Army. Adelaide consented, and it proved a very happy union. The King appointed Auguié to the office of Receiver-General in the Department of Finance, which he held in addition to his other offices.

Madame Le Brun describes Madame Auguié, at whose home she was a frequent visitor, as follows: "I have known few women more beautiful or pleasing than Madame Auguié. She was tall, well made; she had a fresh face with a pink and white complexion and lovely eyes, full of sweetness and goodness."

The sad death of Madame Auguié has been told in so many different ways that it is well at this time to give the true circumstances, as recounted by her sister, Madame Campan, in her "Memoirs of the Genet Family in France," written for the children of her brother in the United States. She says: "It almost breaks my heart to recur to the deplorable fate of your aunt, Madame Auguié. It was occasioned by the trial of the Queen, who thought it her duty on that occasion to request that twenty-five Louis d'Or, which was all the money she had in her pocket, should be returned to Madame Auguié, who had lent them to her when she was a prisoner at the bar of the National Assembly. Many months passed between that disclosure of the Queen and the arrest of my sister and myself. We had been assured that the secretary of the bloody tribunal had written Augal instead of Auguié, with the secret intention of saving a victim so innocently designated, although unknown to him personally. For the poor Queen could not suppose, having herself been deprived of all kinds of communication with men. that they had become ferocious enough to transform so simple an act of humanity and gratitude into a crime.

"At last and fully nine months afterwards, while we were encouraged by seeing the word Augal instead of the true name of my sister, Auguié. printed in all the papers, an atrocious man of quality (of whose name I shall be silent, not to render family feuds hereditary) played the infamous part of *Mouton* to Robespierre by writing the following note, addressed to the Committee of Public Safety: 'I have traversed all the prisons of Paris and am astonished not to find Madame Auguié there, designated by error at the trial of Marie Antoinette by the name of Augal. She and her sister, Madame Campan, ought to have been in prison long ago.' Immediately a decree of arrest was issued against my sister and myself. Four *Gens d'Armes* arrived at our country house. My sister, who was to go immediately to the prison of the Conciergerie, where the victims remained

but a day or two, determined not to be taken. She fled across the field upon an ass, and reached Paris; the horrors of the situation produced the loss of her reason; but, notwithstanding her derangement, she left these words in writing: 'If I die on the scaffold, my husband, already a prisoner, must perish also; our property will then be confiscated. My daughters, what will become of you? If I avoid the scaffold I may perhaps save the property which is my own, for you.' Having written this note, she precipitated herself from the window of an apartment in a furnished hotel where she had concealed herself. What despair reigned among us, heightened by the reflection that, had she preserved her life, it might have been saved from the bloodhounds, for but two days after we all rejoiced to see Robespierre and his frightful tyranny crumble alike in the dust, when the prisons were opened and M. Auguié regained his freedom, returned to his home, where he only found despair and mourning for a wife and mother, the most justly beloved. We thought that Antoinette, the eldest daughter, would die of grief; the gayety of youth disappeared forever."

The heroic conduct of Madame Auguié on the 10th of August, 1789, and again in October, won the admiration of the Court and ever after the Queen called her "my lioness."

Madame Auguié left three daughters. The eldest, Antoinette, for whom Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette stood as sponsors, went with her father to Paris. The two younger ones, Eglié and Adèle, remained at St. Germain with Madame Campan. They were among her first pupils at St. Germain and were very soon joined there by Hortense Beauharnais, whose father had been guillotined and whose mother, Josephine, had been released from prison.

Antoinette Auguié was sought in marriage by Monsieur Gamot, to whom she gave the preference over many other admirers of distinction, who offered her great advantages of station and wealth. He was Prefect of Lycere, and so distinguished by his intelligent and prudent administration that, on the accession of Louis XVIII as King, he was made Prefect of L'Yonne, with his residence at Auxerre. On Napoleon's return from Elba on the 20th of March, 1815, an *aide-de-camp* preceded him and instructed Prefect Gamot to prepare everything in his residence to receive Napoleon. Gamot complied. Louis XVIII dismissed him from his office and deprived him of the pension which had been voted him as a reformed Prefect.

Madame Campan says that "he consoled himself in his misfortunes by his touching devotion to his distinguished brother-in-law, Marshal Ney, who was then confined in the prison of the Abbey. At the terrible moment which deprived France of a hero so much regretted, he rushed to the fatal place, and forced from them the remains of that gallant man who had just fallen under the bullets of his executioners, raising to Heaven as he fell the last cry of a French patriot, '*Vive la France.*' Gamot washed his bloody wounds himself, and buried him with his own hands, and rendered him those last duties which France in tears should

have rendered to a brave man who had so gloriously served her." Marshal Ney's remains were placed by Gamot in the same vault with his father-in-law, Monsieur Auguié, in Père la Chaise cemetery in Paris.

It was the second daughter of Adelaide (Genet) Auguié who married Marshal Ney. Madame Campan says that Hortense contributed to effecting the marriage although Eglié was much captivated by the man and his great spirit and genius, and so informed Hortense, who communicated the fact to Ney. She and Ney met at Grignon, near Paris, the country-seat of Gamot, a beautifully adorned place, afterwards purchased from Gamot by Marshal Bessières. The marriage was shortly after consummated.

The custom in those days in France was to offer a casket, containing ornaments, jewels, and diamonds, to the betrothed on the day when the marriage contract was signed. Ney conformed to the custom so far as the casket was concerned and presented some ornaments, but, soldier that he was, he stood his ground and bravely said: "You will find neither pearls or diamonds in this casket; but I am well persuaded that I shall please you more, as well as your dear friends, when I say that, having commanded the light troops which have penetrated into every part of Germany, for many years, I should have been able to offer you many of those brilliant things, if I had thought my sword ought to conquer anything but glory."

Let me give the scene of wedding festivities as described by Madame Campan. "The marriage took place at the Castle de Grignon. But few persons were invited. Hortense, then married to Louis Bonaparte, was the only strange lady there. The music was by a band of one of the Regiments under the command of Ney and remained there for a week. The Castle grounds were illuminated. All the inhabitants of the neighboring hamlets were admitted to enjoy the festival and were feasted for two days. The General adored his amiable companion, whose joy gave her a radiant air. But what were our feelings and how sensibly were they touched the day upon which the nuptial benediction was pronounced in the Chapel, when we saw the General conducting an aged shepherd and his wife, whom he found on the grounds of the Castle, and who at this period, according to the custom of the Catholics, had to celebrate the fiftieth year of their union by a second marriage. They were both completely dressed in the costume of their Canton. That coarse old peasant kneeling on the steps of the altar and side by side with the elegant and accomplished Eglié exhibited a touching contrast, while the habit of the good old man placed near the brilliant uniform of the General-in-Chief, recalled at once his modest origin and his valor. These two old people were the parents of the Marshal."

As Ney advanced, his titles increased, and his wife became the Lady of the Palace of both the Empresses, Josephine and Marie Louise, and won the admiring respect of both courts. She survived her husband many years. Her descendants are still living.

MARSHAL NEY

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MADAME NEY
Wife of Napoleon's Great Marshal and Niece of "Citizen" Genet

The third daughter of Madame Auguié, Adèle, named for her mother, and for whom Madame Campan was sponsor, was virtually put into Madame Campan's arms at the moment her mother fled from the *Gens d' Armes* to avoid arrest. The last audible words of Madame Auguié to Madame Campan were: "My sister, if you escape the death which threatens us, this is your daughter."

Madame Campan wrote: "With a throbbing heart, torn with inexpressible anguish, I accepted the hallowed trust. Adèle was then eight years old and she quitted me no more. I made of her the most distinguished pupil of my school at St. Germain. Handsome, natural, and full of simplicity and grace, she united to many other talents that of reciting French verses equal to the most accomplished actress."

Others of Madame Campan's scholars possessed great histrionic talent, and she determined to produce that masterpiece of Racine, *Esther*. It was appropriate, as it was composed for young and innocent minds. It was produced and created a great sensation. The room was small, so the attendance was necessarily limited, but the personnel made up for the confined space. The King of Holland, the Grand Duke of Baden, the Prince Royal of Bavaria, Cardinals, Ambassadors of Foreign Courts, the First Consul (Napoleon), and his family and ministers,—all were there. More than a century had passed since that admirable work of Racine had been produced by Madame de Maintenon at the celebrated institution at St. Cyr, which she founded. Madame Campan produced it twice. Adèle was the Queen Esther on both occasions and was declared the veritable Queen Esther.

Adèle married General de Broc, well known to all readers of Napoleonic history. He died "on the field of honor" and was buried at Milan. He had been made Master of the Palace at the Hague, at the Court of Louis Bonaparte and Hortense Beauharnais, and Adèle, to whom Hortense was much attached, was, of course, Lady of the Palace. Apart from her duties at the Court she assumed others of a charitable nature. "Clad in a simple white robe she would visit the dwellings of the unfortunate and many old women who were cripples were prescribed to await her coming to be taken up and dressed by her. She devoted a third of her revenue to this work exclusively for the poor and with the other two-thirds she economized in their behalf." Adèle was a good dancer and often led with Queen Hortense the brilliant quadrilles which were the ornaments of the fêtes given by the Emperor.

Her death was tragic. She had accompanied Queen Hortense on a walk in the environs of Aix in Savoy. She had to pass upon a very narrow plank which was placed across a torrent. A little moss that she trod upon caused her to slip, and she fell into a whirlpool which had been made by the torrent, from whence she was taken out lifeless. Hortense had her remains embalmed and conveyed to St. Leu, in the valley of Montmorency, and erected there a monument to her memory. At the place where Adèle lost her life Hortense had a stone bridge constructed with a beautiful tablet, commemorating the sad occurrence. She also provided for the poor to whom Adèle had been accustomed to administer aid.

The fourth daughter of Edmé Jacques Genet, Sophie, married Monsieur Pannellier, a man of wealth and position, but not so prominent as the husbands of her sisters.

Thus we have drawings in profile only of four distinguished women of the family of Edmé Jacques Genet, whose moral worth had been an example of the advantages of virtue and goodness applied to daily living, "whose soul had constantly directed them." These four women stood, and their memories still stand out in pronounced brilliancy for their constancy, purity, and general excellence, against whom there was no reproach, no words of scandal, but for whom, always, words and sentiments of the profoundest respect and admiration were uttered and entertained,—good women, good wives, good mothers, good servitors to their sovereigns, self-sacrificing even unto death. Could more be asked? Could more be given? Only once was that magnificent woman, Madame Campan, made to feel deeply the animus of Court jealousy, and that was when she was accused of having deserted the Queen. This canard spread and even went so far as St. Petersburg, where Madame Le Brun heard it uttered and with indignant vehemence denied it. This act of Madame Le Brun reached the ears of Madame Campan, and she immediately wrote her. I give her letter as recorded by Madame Le Brun in her memoirs.

"Saint Germain,
"This 27th January.

"You said when far away from me, dear lady, 'It could not be true.' Goodness, sense and kindness formed your opinion; and these rare qualities, rare in our days, unhappily for me, united with still rarer talents in yourself. I feel deeply your kind speech on my behalf. How indeed could you believe that I should ever waver an instant in my sentiments, opinions and devotion to the unfortunate being who did her utmost for my happiness and that of my family? I have had, on the contrary, the pleasure of giving her proofs of a gratitude which she had a right to expect. My poor sister Auguié and myself, although I was not on services, faced death rather than quit her that ever memorable and terrible night of the 10th of August. Saved from this massacre, but hiding and dying of fear in different houses in Paris, we gathered strength enough to reach the Feuillants and be with her again in her first detention at the Assembly. Petion alone parted us from her, when we wished to follow her to the Tuileries. After such true and natural acts, for which I take no praise to myself, how, will you say, could any one be so calumniated? Was I not to be made to pay dear for the marked and prolonged favors of so many years? Is favor ever forgiven in Court, even when it falls upon a servant? They wished to make the Queen think badly of me, that was all. They will not succeed, for some days people will know how much she trusted and confided in me in most important matters. I must nevertheless affirm, so as not to be misunderstood, my real feelings as regarded

the plan of emigration which I considered as fatal to the emigrants, but even more so, in my ideas at that time, to the wellfare of Louis XVI. Whilst living in the Tuileries I was struck by this fact, that it was only a quarter of a league from the palace to the insurgent faubourgs, and a hundred leagues from Coblenz or the protecting armies. Women are by nature talkative, and I stated too often and too openly my opinion of this plan, which in those days was the hope of everybody. A very different sentiment from any criminal and foolish wish, for a fearful resolution dictated my fears. Time has only too well justified them; and the countless victims of that project ought not to impute as a crime to me what I said at the time.

"But now I am living in another sphere; I have given myself up completely to my work, with a peaceful and untroubled conscience. I have long wished you to see my method of education, to receive and welcome you as a precious friend. Come some day with the interesting and unfortunate Rousseau [Madame Campan's sister] and it will be a joyful day for me. Believe in my esteem, gratitude, and affection. Ever your friend,

"GENET CAMPAN."

It is a clear, concise, and true statement, and must have been a satisfaction to Madame Le Brun to learn from the fountain-head the truth, justifying her own courageous defense of an injured woman.

And now let us follow, through boyhood, youth, and manhood, the fifth child and only son of Edmé Jacques Genet.

Edmond Charles Genet was born at Versailles on the 8th of January, 1763. His birth was the realization of the most earnest prayers of his parents, and a delight to his sisters, for all had hoped for a boy. His father determined to educate him for diplomatic service and early began the preparation of his course of studies. He proved precocious and apt. At six years he could recite in Greek and Latin and converse in English quite well, and he soon became proficient in German and Italian. His exercise was taken in instructive walks with his good father, equestrian exercises, and fencing. He became an accomplished musician, vocal and instrumental. When twelve years of age, he was placed in the Diplomatic Bureau, under his father's direction, and translated from English into French the laws of the United States and the writings of our prominent men. While in that position he was brought in touch with all the many different diplomats and prominent men. Benjamin Franklin thought much of him and his unusual advancement, and, when young Genet was sent by his father to Nantes, to meet some Americans and Englishmen, in order to better learn to converse in English, Franklin gave him a letter, a copy of which follows. This letter was addressed to Mr. Jonas Williams, a relative of Franklin, but whether a cousin or nephew is left uncertain.

"Dear Cousin:

"The bearer Mr. Genet Junior a young gentleman of excellent character goes

to Nantes with the intention of spending a little time there in improving himself in the English language by conversing among our countrymen. I desire you would introduce him to these acquaintances, and I recommend him warmly to all your considerations which I shall esteem as done to myself.

"I am ever

"Your affectinate Uncle

"Passy, Jany 13th, 1779. "B. FRANKLIN."

On his return from Nantes, his father deemed it best to send him on a tour, and procured for him an appointment in a Dragoon Regiment, as a Captain, under the command of the Duc de Luynes. In this office he made a tour of the Continent for educational purposes. He was afterwards at Vienna, under the Baron de Breteuil, and then for one year at Berlin, in both instances in the service of the State. Genet returned to France with the Baron de Breteuil, his father's illness requiring his presence. He arrived only to see his father but a short time before the latter's death.

Edmé Jacques Genet died September 11th, 1781. Madame Campan says that "had he lived until 1789 he would no doubt have been a member of the National Assembly; and his virtues and talents would undoubtedly have marked out for him the road to the scaffold." He was not, she says, a handsome man, "but there never was a Frenchman who united more happily the elegance, vivacity, and gracefulness which marked the conversation of the most polished courts, with the simple and natural manners of a Republican and the benevolence of ancient hospitality. In consequence of the general esteem which he inspired, his house was the habitual resort of the most distinguished *literati,* and of foreigns of the highest rank, who came to visit France." He constantly urged upon the minds of his children the value of truth, gratitude, and love of country.

The conduct of the young Edmond Charles Genet, while abroad, had won for him a prominent and excellent reputation, and, although but eighteen years old at his father's death, the King appointed him successor to his father in the positions held by him in the Department of Foreign Affairs of War and of the Navy. Madame Campan says that he never permitted himself to incur a single personal expense till he had discharged all the debts that his father had contracted for the successive establishments of his four daughters, which sum was more than eighty thousand livres; nor did he put aside the mourning which he wore for his father until those obligations were discharged.

At the time of the Treaty of 1783, he was sent to London as Secretary of the Legation at the Court of St. James. Twenty years before, in 1763, his father had been there on a similar mission.

On the return of the Comte de Ségur, Edmond Charles Genet was appointed *Chargé d' Affaires* at St. Petersburg. Madame Campan relates an amusing incident which occurred at Warsaw on his way to Russia. Genet stopped there, and

was for a time the guest of Poniatowski,—Stanislaus II,—still King of Poland, but on a very flimsy throne. The King knew Genet and his family, and also knew that he was a good musician, so he had a piano brought into his apartment and requested so many repetitions of Genet's songs that the young diplomatist, jealous of the dignity of his office, determined to end that compromising employment. So he sang selections from a French opera, "Roi Théodore de Corse," wherein the pretended King is made an object of derision. Poniatowski interrupted him while he was singing, saying that a great deal of bad music and many very ridiculous verses had been made since he had left France. Genet replied that it was a piece often sung at Versailles before the King and Queen. Poniatowski made no reply, but the piano was shut and remained so.

Fifteen years after a daughter of Poniatowski's niece was a scholar at Madame Campan's school at Écouen and alluded to this incident and the embarrassment it had caused the royal circle when a young French officer had sung an air on the mock royalty of the pretended King of Corsica. Madame Campan informed her that the young French officer was her brother.

When Genet went to Russia affairs in France were in a critical condition. The masses of the people of France supported the immense burden of the Government. Louis XVI called upon the exempt classes to submit their property to taxation. Under the ancient laws, the King was obliged to submit to the Parliament any new fiscal law. The Parliament rejected his proposals. The Parliament then determined that a new imposition of taxes could be established by assembling the Deputies from the Provinces of France. This assemblage, known as the States-General, convened at Versailles. The people demanded a Constitution, but this was opposed. The King, menaced, insulted, torn by force from his palace, made concessions to the people, which were useless, as was his granting to them of the Constitution. All this was the precursor of the Reign of Terror.

The Comte de Montmorin, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, sensible of the constrained situation, had instituted two different kinds of correspondence with the members of the French Diplomatic Corps at foreign Courts. One of these was the official correspondence, which enjoined upon the diplomats adherence to the new Constitution. In the confidential correspondence, a course directly the opposite was prescribed.

Genet made it known to Comte de Montmorin that he would act no double part; "that prudence and honor prescribed but one course for him to pursue." In his despatches from St. Petersburg Genet included information as to the hostile preparations of the French *Emigres*. De Montmorin endeavored to keep this information from the public, and therefore left some of the despatches unopened. He was afterwards brought to the bar of the National Assembly to explain why he had suppressed fifty or more despatches of the Minister Genet, containing information of the greatest importance.

"In 1791, after the arrest of the King in his flight, the Empress Catherine

caused Genet to be notified at a public audience that she would no longer recognize him as a minister at her Court, inasmuch as he represented an imprisoned King." Genet openly protested at the same time in presence of the Court at such an act, which suspended his ministerial functions, stating "that his letters of credit had not been withdrawn and that as the Representative of France whatever then might be the situation of that country, he would not submit in silence to such an outrage."

After this firm and spirited protest he retired to his Russian residence, where he passed nearly a year without communicating with the Court of Catherine or with any one in authority. When the Empress was informed officially of the deposition of Louis XVI, on the 10th of August, 1792, she ordered Genet to leave Russia, but, Madame Campan says, "in open court publicly rendered justice to his loyalty, firmness of his character, and purity of his private life."

While in Russia, Genet, fully appreciating the probable embarrassment that the attitude he had taken might cause his sister, write her the following letter.

"My dear Sister:

"I know your respectful and profound attachment to the Queen your august mistress; it is that which exclusively directs your actions towards her, it is laudable and ought to be constantly cherished by you.

"My position is different from yours. A French citizen clothed with the honor of representing my country, I ought to do so in conformity to the laws or obligations prescribed by the Constitution, which the King has sworn to maintain and to which I have also bound myself by a similar and solemn oath.

"Never entertain me in your letters with the opinions which divide the French people; happy, if like me they saw the safety of their Sovereign and their country, only in the support of their Constitution.

"As an advanced sentinel I remain here, always ready to give the alarm in regard to all plots against my country. I do it with so much the more zeal because I believe that I am thus serving the true interests of my Sovereigns.

"Lay my letter at the feet of her Majesty the Queen. I think it necessary that this should be done by yourself, that her Majesty may know the resolution I have formed, and to which I have equally bound myself to adhere by my sentiments as a French citizen, and by profound and respectful attachment to the true interests of my Sovereigns."

This letter was presented to the Queen by Madame Campan. After reading it she said: "Genet is an honest man; but he pursues a course which will be the means of obstructing his advancement." This was at a time when there was hope in the minds of Louis and Marie Antoinette that the *Émigrés* would succeed in their efforts to secure intervention, and the restoration of sovereign rights. Genet's conduct at St. Petersburg was known to the Committees and to the Court

as it then was, and he, of course, came in for censure and praise according to the respective sympathies of two sides. Some approached the Queen and cautioned her against her implicit confidence in Madame Campan, but the Queen nonplussed them by telling them that Madame Campan had shown her the communication from her brother. The Queen told Madame Campan that some of the ladies had even gone so far as to suggest "that Madame Campan's step in showing the letter to her might be only a skillful deceit. At the same time she assured her, writes Madame Campan, "with a touching sensibility that during twenty years she had judged too well of my sincerity, for any one to cause the least cloud of suspicion between her heart and mine." The King also told Madame Campan that "the popularity of Genet as a Constitutionalist gave me such favor in the eyes of many of the people, that it was very convenient for him, and more than ever justified the confidence he had reposed in me, and which I had never ceased to merit." Madame Campan also writes: "My brother's reputation as a Constitutionalist also had another good effect. It shielded me from the suspicion and the vigilance of the chiefs of the Revolution."

(To be Continued.)

ARMS OF LANGTON, QUARTERED WITH MUMBY
This Coat-Armor Was Borne by Ancestors of the Beatty Family of Maryland

Travel In The Colonies and Early Days of The Republic

Indian Trail, Pioneer Path, Stage-Coach Route, Steamboat, Railroad ❧ The Old-Time Tavern a Club, Newspaper, and Supply Station ❧ Difficulties of Colonial Journeying ❧ Modernizing of Travel by Steam and the Passing of the Picturesque Stage-Coach of Early Days

BY

W. HARRISON BAYLES
Author of "The Old Post Road" and "Old Taverns of New York"

THE SUBJECT of stage-coaches and travel on the highways seems at first glance to touch a very unimportant feature of social life, but a little reflection and investigation will convince us that such is not the case. The customs and manners of the times, as well as the social and political condition of the country, are there reflected in a way which is both instructive and interesting, and the study of history is incomplete without some knowledge of it. At some periods there was a romantic side to it which was very attractive. There were interesting incidents, adventures, and fun, and the old stage drivers were extremely picturesque, both in character and deportment.

The inns and taverns, too, of the Colonial period were of great importance in the social economy of the country, and were, of course, an essential part of the life of the road. The tavern served as a business exchange and occupied the place of the modern club. In some of the old almanacs we find distances given from tavern to tavern and not from town to town. Valuable information and news as well as gossip came through travelers, and rarely in any other way. The traveler who brought news told it to those who gathered at the inn, and left it with the landlord, who was a repository, *ex officio,* of all the news and gossip

from far and near, and who kept it on tap and dealt it out as he did his beer. Thus the tavern became the centre of trade and the medium in the community in which it was situated of almost all the information obtainable from the outside world, as up to the end of the Seventeenth Century there was not a newspaper in all America.

The original English Colonies, planted along the Atlantic coast, constantly received accessions from England, and were continually sending out in the neighboring country new settlements. Between settlements on the coasts and rivers, communication by water was easy and preferable, but each new settlement, very soon after its establishment, seems to have given serious attention to the laying out of roads and the care of strangers visiting the place or passing through it. Roads in the immediate neighborhood of the towns or villages were laid out for the accommodation of wheeled vehicles, but those connecting them were nothing more than paths for man or horse, and some of them continued to be so for more than a hundred years.

John Endicott wrote to Governor Winthrop from Salem in April, 1631, that in attempting to be present at the Court in Boston he had put to sea, but had been driven back by adverse winds, and makes his excuses to the Governor for not attempting to make the trip by land, as, there being no canoe or boat at Saugus River, he must have been compelled to go to Mystic, and thence about to Charlestown, and, his body being in ill condition to stand the wading and chances of taking cold, he therefore craves pardon.

When Providence, Rhode Island, was first settled, it was some years before there was a well-established way between it and the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Intercourse with the Plymouth Colony was always friendly and often of absolute necessity, while there was little intercourse with Boston. The highways must have received early attention, yet the first notice of consequence in the public records was in 1671, when the ancient bridle-paths were "widened by the order of the Town."

In 1640 men appointed to view the road between Windsor and Hartford reported that "part of the road between Hartford Towne and the line which devides it from Windsor we find to be mended sufficiently, so as men may both ride and go on foot and make drifts of cattle comfortable." Between these settlements and the old Massachusetts Colonies was a vast wilderness, through which only a strong man with a good guide would venture.

In traveling from town to town the settlers soon ascertained the best routes. Sometimes an old Indian path could be utilized. When wheeled vehicles began to be used, the paths or roads had been established, and they were then cleared of rocks and trees to allow the passage of carts. The principal street of Farmington, Connecticut, is said to have been originally an Indian trail.

It is natural to suppose that the people leaving England for a home in a new country were of an adventurous disposition, and so we find that many who came

to Boston or Plymouth soon pushed on to newer settlements, and again farther on. Many of the people who were settled on Long Island about the year 1660 had first come to Boston or Plymouth, then to Hartford or Wethersfield, then to one of the Connecticut towns on the Sound, and from thence to Long Island. This constant pushing forward for more room or better land was one of the causes which made it necessary for such town to have some one appointed to take care of strangers, and that the roads should be passable and well-defined.

As the Colonies grew the coastwise communications were constantly increasing. There was frequent intercourse between the settlements along the Massachusetts and Connecticut coasts, and this was even extended to the Virginia plantations. The English shipmasters broke their voyages from Virginia to New England by stopping at New Amsterdam to pick up a little trade with the Dutch, and as early as 1642 these and other strangers visiting the place were so numerous that the Dutch built a fine stone tavern for their accommodation.

Previous to the conquest of the Dutch Colonies by the English in 1664, communication between New Amsterdam and the Dutch settlements on the Delaware was through the forests across what subsequently became New Jersey. The redoubtable Captain Martin Crigier, whose name is prominent in the military annals of New Amsterdam, marched through this wilderness in May, 1637, with a company of forty soldiers and a number of settlers to the Falls of the Delaware, and down the west bank of the river to New Amstel. The year before Ensign Dirk Smith had gone overland with a small party to assist in quelling a disturbance of the Indians. The path or road thus used is supposed to have been the same in part as an old Indian trail which had existed since time beyond the reach of tradition, used no doubt by the natives in their periodical migrations to the seashore and back to the hills.

REFORMED DUTCH CHURCH, NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY, ERECTED 1767

Before the grant to William Penn the settlements on the Delaware were under the jurisdiction of the Governor of New York, and each of them, as he came into office, made a visit to them with as much state and dignity as he could command.

Governor Andros made his first visit to the settlements on the Delaware in May, 1675, accompanied by a numerous retinue. He came overland to the Falls of the Delaware, and down the west bank of the river to New Castle, where he held court. During the session of the court it was ordered that a way be made between the different towns, and a ferry was established at the Falls, on the west side of the river. At this time there were a few settlers near the present site of Philadelphia and along the Delaware nearly as far up as the Falls.

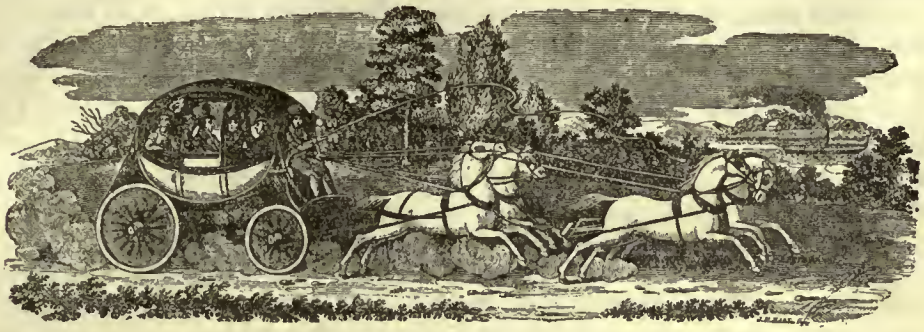
LIBERTY HALL, ELIZABETH, NEW JERSEY

On the 27th of October, 1682, William Penn first set foot in the New World, arriving in the ship *Welcome*. The next day, in the Dutch Court House at New Castle, the authorities, in the name of the Duke of York, surrendered to him the town and a circle of land twelve miles around it, also the two Lower Counties, and the formalities of taking possession were gone through with. This territory, now the State of Delaware, had been conveyed to Penn by the Duke of York just prior to his departure from England, the deed bearing date August 24th, 1682.

Soon after his arrival, Penn visited the seats of government of the neighboring Colonies of Maryland, New York, and New Jersey. In going to New York, he must have passed up the Delaware to the Falls, either by land or water. From the Falls of the Delaware, he must have gone by the only road then open, which led to the Raritan and through the towns of Piscataway and Woodbridge to Elizabethtown, where he would take boat to New York. Penn was interested in these settlements, having recently, by purchase, become one of the Proprietors of East Jersey.

In the early history of East Jersey, long before the settlement of Philadelphia, those at the head of affairs conceived the plan of planting a town or city, which would become a place of important and extensive trade on the point north

of the Raritan River. This point, known as Emboyle or Ambo Point, had been selected and reserved from grant or sale as affording great advantages, with the intention also of making it the seat of government. They named the new town Perth, in honor of James, Earl of Perth, one of the Associates, but it soon became known as Perth Amboy, and in order to increase its importance and prosperity Deputy Governor Lawrie was urged to establish a road to Burlington, connecting with the city of New York with a ferry. Writing to the Proprietors in London,



FROM AN OLD POSTER OF THE PERIOD

under date of March 2nd, 1864, he says: "I am setting up a Ferry Boat at Perth for men and horses to go and come to Burlington, Pensalvania and New York: also I am treating with one to set up a house midway to Burlington to entertain Travellers, and a Ferry Boat to go to New York, all which is for promoting Perth, that being the center." The road thus opened was known as Lawrie's road.

In 1706, on April 11th, a grant was made to Hugh Huddy, of Burlington, New Jersey, giving him "full power, license and authority, by himself, his servants, or deputy, to set up, keep, use and employ one or more stage coaches, and one or more waggon or waggons, or any other, and soe as many carriage or carriages as he shall see convenient for the carrying or transportation of goods and passengers" to and from Burlington and Perth Amboy, or to and from any places on the road between. A grant had

OLD TOLL-GATE INN ON THE PHILADELPHIA ROAD

been made to John Reeve in 1704 to keep a ferry of fixed prices, being quite lengthy and explicit. These two grants, on connection with the ferry between Perth Amboy and New York, made, when in operation, a complete route between New York and Philadelphia.

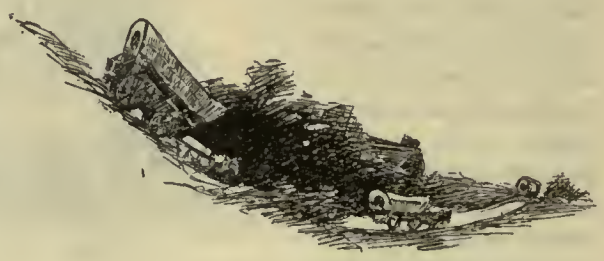
The first advertisement which can be found relating to travel and transportation over this route across the Jerseys appears in Andrew Bradford's *Philadelphia Mercury* of March, 1732-3, as follows:

"This is to give Notice unto Gentlemen, Merchants, Tradesmen, Travellers, and others, that Solomon Smith and James Moore, of Burlington, keepeth two Stage wagons intending to go from Burlington to Amboy and back from Amboy to Burlington again, Once every Week, or offt'er if that Business presents; They have also a very good storehouse, very Commodious for the storing of any sort of Merchants Goods free from any Charges, where good Care will be taken of all sorts of Goods."

The *New York Gazette* of April 8th, 1734, contains the following:

"These are to give Notice, That Arthur Brown now plays in a Boat betwixt New York and South River in New Jersey. If any gentlemen or Merchants have any Goods to send to Allens-Town, Burlington or Philadelphia, he will carry such goods to South-River as cheap as is usually paid for carrying to Amboy or New Brunswick. And from South River, Samuel Rogers of Allens-Town, will carry such goods for one Farthing per Pound to Burdens Landing on Delaware River. And the said Rogers has a boat that plyes between Philadelphia and Burdens Landing, in which he will carry Goods at the Price they have for carriage of Goods from Burlington to Philadelphia. The said Arthur Brown will be at New York once a Week, if Wind and Weather permit; and comes to Old Ship. Enquire of the Printer hereof."

By this latter announcement, the land route would be shortened, and that by water lengthened accordingly, Burdens Landing, afterwards called Bordentown, and South River lying near the road from Amboy to Burlington.



LAND SCHOONERS EN ROUTE FOR THE SOUTH

The vehicles used were, no doubt, in construction and finish of the most primitive kind, without springs, and covered with white canvas stretched over hoops, and must have presented a very picturesque appearance on their way across country. They carried goods of all kinds, but it is hardly credible that any would take passage in them who could afford a horse or other means of conveyance.

Benjamin Franklin travelled over the route from Amboy to Burlington in 1723, when he was a youth of seventeen, on his way to Philadelphia, and has given an account of his experience in his autobiography. It took him thirty hours to reach Amboy from New York. The wind tore the rotten sails of the boat to pieces, and, drifting on the Long Island shore, they were obliged to anchor and spend the night with the spray beating over them so as to wet them through. They were without food or drink, except a bottle of rum. A drunken Dutchman, who was a passenger, fell overboard but was dragged in. After reaching Amboy, and spending a feverish night, he crossed the ferry, and, walking through the rain, by noon reached a poor inn, very wet and a good deal tired, where he stayed all night. The next day he continued his journey and succeeded before night in reaching an inn within eight or ten miles of Burlington, kept by one Doctor Brown. At this house he spent the night and reached Burlington the next morning, to find that the regular boats had gone only a little before his arrival, and that no other was expected to go before Tuesday, this being Saturday. In the evening, however, he took his chances with a boat which happened to be passing, and after a night, spent partly on the river and partly on shore, uncertain of their whereabouts, landed at the Market Street wharf in Philadelphia on Sunday morning.

In the early part of the Eighteenth Century travel was almost entirely on horseback or on foot, and remained so for a long time. Horseback riding from the force of circumstances thus became a universal accomplishment. Old and young travelled in this way, as well in making a visit a few miles' distance as in taking a long journey. In those families who could afford it, the wives and daughters had riding horses for their special use. It is related that the wife of Joseph Shippen, of Boston, visited her relatives in Philadelphia sometime after her marriage in 1702, and came all the way from Boston on horseback, bringing her baby with her, safely resting it all the way on her lap. We have also an account of a lady, the wife of the Chief Justice, going to a great ball in Philadelphia, in full dress, on horseback.

OLD SLEIGH, 1788

The common people obtained their enjoyment of travel from the boat and the sleigh, or the sled. These were of easy construction, which accounts probably for their general use. Gabriel Thomas, in his short history of Pennsylvania and

New Jersey, published in 1698, states that "Wherry Boats" were constantly plying between Philadelphia and Burlington and other places on the river. He speaks of "Gloucester-Town" as "a very Fine and Pleasant place whither Young People come from Philadelphia in Wherries to eat Strawberries and Cream, within site of which city it is sweetly situated."

Madam Knight, who was in New York City in 1704, thus relates how the New Yorkers of that day enjoyed sleigh-riding. "Mr. Borroughs carry'd his Spouse and Daughter and Myself out to one Madam Dowes, who gave us a handsome entertainment of five or six Dishes and Choice Beer and Metheglin, Cider, etc., all of which, she said, was the produce of her farm. I believe we met 50 or 60 slays that day—they fly with great swiftness, and some are so furious that they'le turn out of the path for none except a Loaden Cart. Nor do they spare for any diversion the place affords, and sociable to a degree, They's Tables being as free to their Naybours as to themselves."

From the year 1730, or about that time, the chaise came gradually into increasing use. After the middle of the century it was used on the road for travel. The chaise became the fashionable carriage in the Colonies, except in Virginia and the southern part of Maryland, where the pride of the wealthy families was shown in the display of coaches with four and sometimes six horses.

"THROUGH IN TWELVE HOURS"

There were occasions when, on public or private business, extensive trips were necessary, and these were undertaken with great preparation and concern. A person setting out from Charleston for New York or Boston, if he were a prudent man, would make his will, and, giving a dinner or supper at the tavern, his friends would there drink his health in bumpers of rum and punch and bid him a formal goodbye. Long trips of this kind by men of means or on public business were generally made on horse back, accompanied by a servant.

Travelling for pleasure was not unknown, although the taverns of those days were, as a rule, not adapted for the accommodation of ladies. Governor Franklin, in a letter to the Earl of Sterling, dated April 2, 1767, writes: "We were not a little chagrined in our disappointment in not being able to join your party in your jaunt to Bethlehem;" and Lord Sterling writes in reply: "As soon as the summer

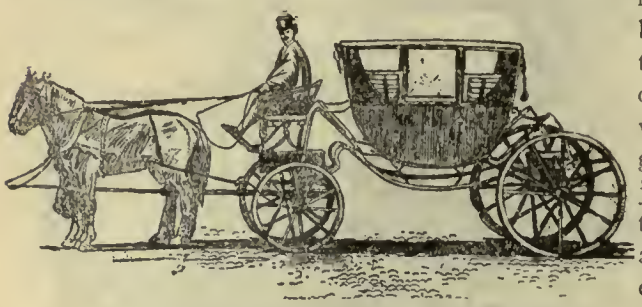
heats are over I purpose to give them [Lady Sterling and his daughters] a jaunt to the westward and spending some days at Burlington." The Sun Inn at Bethlehem, erected by the Moravians, was at this time one of the most noted taverns in the land. Previous to 1754 it had been known as the "House of Entertainment," but in that year the sign of the Sun was first hung out and thereafter it was known as the "Sun Inn." During a period of more than thirty years, including those of the Revolution, under its hospitable roof were entertained many of the most illustrious men of the times. A few days after the occupation of Philadelphia by the British troops in 1777 the inn was filled with refugees, including many of the delegates to the Congress, which had been in session in that city. The well known excellence of this public house no doubt influenced Lord Sterling in making Bethlehem an objective point in his tour of pleasure.

Scene on the Road 1795.

To the citizen of the United States the period just prior to the Revolution, into which our subject has led us, is one of particular interest. The story of these slow-going days, contrasting sharply with the hustle and bustle of modern times, has a peculiar charm. The men and things of long ago are clothed in our imagination with a sort of sanctity and importance which nothing modern can bestow. The stories of every-day life that have come down to us from these ante-Revolutionary days appear to exhale a mysterious influence, which we cannot avoid, and which we would not if we could. They are exalted in our imagination and have the charm and appear as tales of a spiritual world. The men and women whose lives were spent in toil and hardship are pictured in our minds as being superior to those of our own times, and we are pleased with our own delu-

sions—such is the influence of antiquity. Travelling during the War of the Revolution, especially during the latter part of it and near its close, was very expensive. The Continental money had ceased to be current and all payments were made in specie. A traveller of this time states that the expense of remaining at an inn, even an indifferent one, a single night, with a servant and two horses, would not be under from five to eight dollars. In the last decade of the Eighteenth Century travel greatly increased. The roads were taxed not only by increased travel, but by the transportation of all kinds of freight. The different stage lines vied with each other in exertions to make their stages more attractive than their competitors' and to meet the demands of the travelling public, which cannot be measured by any standard of the present day. One line in 1794 considered it of sufficient importance to announce that "their stages are well lined with baize, and have every addition that is necessary to render them comfortable for the winter season."

The stage driver was generally a sober man who considered himself equal to any one. He would take a glass with you at the tavern as a companion, but in no other way, and his bearing was such as to repel the idea of offering him money as a fee. He drove but one stage, from ten to twenty miles, and took care of his own horses, which was one cause of their good appearance. He joined in conversation with the passengers and generally was the man of greatest information in the coach, for by daily passing over the road and conversing with the passengers he knew everything of interest on the road and learned the news from every quarter. He was invariably a great politician and named his horses after his favorite candidates or office holders.



PRIVATE COACH OF 1800

The taverns on the road became more numerous and important. At the regular stopping places of the stages on each day was seen a brief period of stir and bustle. While the changes of coach and horses were being made, the passengers, only too ready for relief from their cramped positions in the stage, would rush to the bar for some "slight refreshment." Here were already gathered the idlers and the newsmongers of the town, ready for news or the sight of some celebrated or notorious person who might be passing through. The hilarity of the passengers whose first stages of travel had worn off restraint, the jolly landlord, with his oft-repeated jokes, the noise and clatter of the changing teams and the calls of the driver, anxious to lose no time, made for a time quite a commotion. The differ-

ent lines had each their stage houses, where their changes were made, although one house might serve more than one or even all of them where there was no competition. Between points where changes were made were houses which obtained some trade from general travel and were used as watering places for the stages.

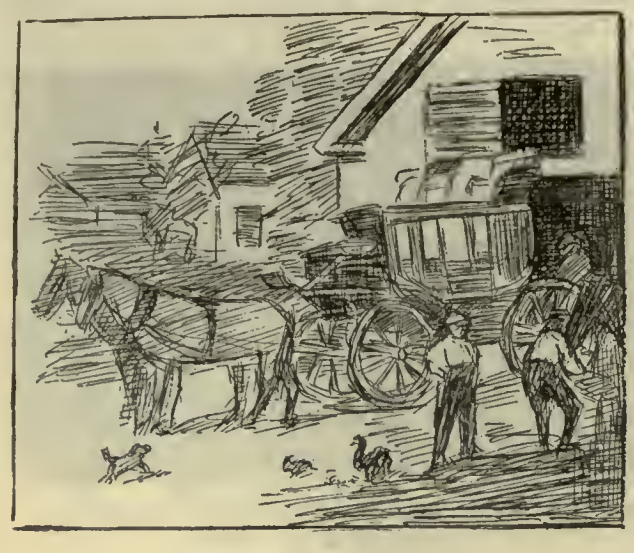
The outfit of a traveller was quite different from that of the present time. The trunk was small with a rounded top, covered with leather tanned with the hair on it, and ornamented with brass-headed nails in lines and curves, often making the initials of the owner and the date of its purchase. The natural markings in color gave some of them an odd appearance and were certainly aids to identification. The portmanteau was of cylindrical form, about eight inches in diameter, with a handle at each end. The opening was by a flap extending nearly its whole length, with oblong holes in the edge which closed over stables through which a strap was drawn, fastened at one end and locked at the other. The outside material was the same as that of the trunk. In trevelling by horseback, it was strapped to the rear part of the saddle.

ON THE ROAD AT NIGHT

A traveller's baggage was truly *impedimenta,* for in travelling by stage coach he was compelled to pay for the carriage of one hundred and fifty pounds the same as his own fare. As a rule, fourteen pounds were allowed each passenger, free of charge but at his own risk, and which he was expected to stow away under his seat in the stage.

Settlements in Maryland and Virginia were made on a plan different from that of New England. The large grants or manors, with a single head and numerous dependents, small communities in themselves, were situated at some distance from each other, and there were few villages or towns. The planters were extremely hospitable to travellers and strangers, so that a respectable person was sure of food and shelter on application at any large plantation, if not of an extremely cordial reception. This spirit of hospitality was reflected in a curious law which required even an inn-keeper to notify his guest, in advance, of his intention to make a charge; otherwise he could not recover a cent.

The taverns of the South were called ordinaries, and, as in the Northern Colonies, were of all grades, but differed from them somewhat in character. The Marquis de Chastellux, on his way to Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson, in 1782, stopped at Willis' Ordinary, and being surprised to see a crowd of men at the house, which was completely isolated, was informed that a cock fight was about to take place. Although there were no posts in that part of the country, the news had in some way spread, and planters had come from thirty and forty miles around, with cocks to fight and money to bet.



THE STOP FOR DINNER

The old Virginia Tavern on the post road leading from Fredericksburg to Williamsburg was the scene of many gay entertainments and was often filled with planters and the ladies of their families, journeying to or from the social centre of Virginia.

In the capital itself stood the old Raleigh Tavern, built about the year 1735. In a niche over the front door was the leaden bust of Sir Walter Raleigh. "The Apollo" was the main room or banquet hall. It has been claimed that this room probably witnessed more scenes of brilliant festivity and political excitement than any other single apartment in North America. Thomas Jefferson wrote, in 1764, that he was as happy on the night before as "dancing with Belinda in the Apollo could make him." It was the scene of all that was brilliant and graceful in Virginia society of the Eighteenth Century.

At the opening of the Nineteenth Century there was a demand throughout the whole of the settled parts of the country for better roads, and the laying out of the turnpikes and the building of bridges were undertaken in all directions. Among all the improvements that were made in the early part of the Nineteenth Century to facilitate travel and make it more comfortable, none was so important or led to greater results than that of the introduction of steam navigation. By the successful trip of the *Clermont,* August 7, 1807, Robert R. Livingston and Robert Fulton secured a monopoly of steam navigation from the State of New York for twenty years, and to Robert Fulton has been given the honor of having

first proven its practical utility. No steamboat had ever made so long a trip before.

On Sunday, February 12th, 1815, an express rider might have been seen on the old highway between New York and Philadelphia, and at the usual exchanging places calling for fresh relay. Like riders were to be seen on the old Post roads leading towards Boston and Albany. They were literally messengers of peace; and as the fresh relay left each town there were mingled with the clattering of the horses' feet, the sound of ringing church bells and other demonstrations of joy.

The sloop of war, *Favorite,* with Mr. Carroll on board, who carried a copy of the treaty ending the War of 1812, for the Government at Washington, had arrived in the port of New York late on Saturday, the 11th of February, and as there would be no mail before Monday, messengers were immediately dispatched to Governor Tompkins at Albany, to Boston, and to Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington. The express carrying the news of the treaty to Boston was sent at the expense of Mr. Goodhue, of New York, at a cost of two hundred and twenty-five dollars.

PHILADELPHIA AND RARITON
STEAM BOAT LINE

Twenty-six miles land carriage,
No office kept in the city.
Fare to be received on board of the boat during the passage.

THE PHILADELPHIA and OLIVE BRANCH Steam Boats connected by excellent Stages from a line to New York. Passengers leave the south side of Market street for Trenton, every day at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, lodge at Trenton, and arrive in New York the next afternoon.

March 22 dtf

The return of peace was the occasion of a most remarkable increase of travel. The great improvement in the roadways and bridges, the more frequent relays on the roads, and the extra exertions of stage-coach proprietors to supply whatever was needful to satisfy the public, made travel much more comfortable and expeditious than it had ever been before, and, although travellers for a long time clung with curious persistence to old ways, the remarkable development of steam navigation and the comforts of steamboats gradually won favor to such an extent that in 1818 there were few lines of travel between New York and Philadelphia of which steamboats did not form a part.

The ten years preceding 1834 may be considered the last decade in the life of stage-coaching between New York and Philadelphia and it was during this period that it reached the zenith of its glory and prosperity.

Before the War of 1812 John Stevens, of Hoboken, had successfully applied to the Legislature of New Jersey for a railroad charter, but when, during the

War, an immense carrying trade in goods, military stores, and ammunition had been developed, and it was reported that two million dollars had been paid for the cartage of goods across the State, he had no trouble, in 1815, in obtaining a charter to build a railroad from the Delaware near Trenton to the Raritan near New Brunswick, which was undoubtedly the first railroad charter granted in America. The money to build such a road could not then be secured, but the agitation on the subject continued, people interested in transportation being divided into two parties, those in favor of canals and those advocating railroads.

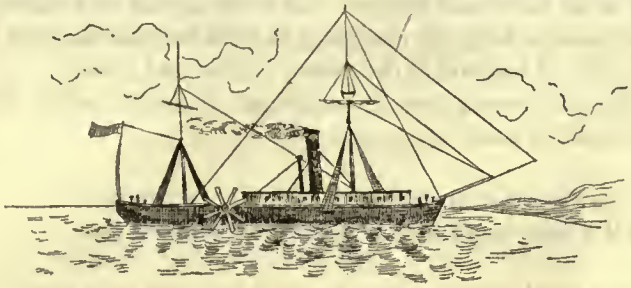
THE JOURNEY'S END

On the 14th of January, 1828, those interested in the construction of a railroad from South Amboy to Camden held their first meeting at Mount Holly, the county seat of Burlington County. No engine, up to this time, had drawn a car or turned a wheel on any railroad built for traffic in the United States and when Maryland granted a charter for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, in 1827, steam was not thought of. When the railroad was completed to Frederick the cars were moved by relays of horses, from which circumstance the Relay House, at the junction of the main line and the Washington branch, took its name.

Such, however, was not the case with the Camden and South Amboy Railroad, for the promoters of this road were strong advocates of steam locomotion. John Stevens, from the time that he first saw John Fitch's little boat on the Delaware, had devoted his time and energy, and not in vain, to the development of steam navigation, and afterwards to steam railroads. In May, 1826, he had constructed a steam locomotive with multi-tubular boiler and was operating it on a circular track at Hoboken, to demonstrate its practicability, where the public were invited to view it in motion.

A charter was granted to the Camden and Amboy Railroad and Transportation Company on the 14th of February, 1830. On the same day a bill was passed incorporating the Delaware and Raritan Canal, and on the 15th of February, 1831, an Act was passed, consolidating the stock of the Camden and Amboy Railroad

and Transportation Company and the Delaware and Raritan Canal. These companies revolutionized the travel and transportation business crossing the State of New Jersey, and the steam whistle, which the locomotive first sounded on the road



The Raritan.

in the fall of 1833, signalled the end of the old stage coach, so active for many generations.

The diversion of travel by the railroads from the old highways created a very

THE OLD-TIME STAGE DRIVER

great change. The drivers, thrown out of employment, ill adapted to enter any other occupation, were stranded on the sea of life. They were a peculiar, quaint,

and jolly class of men, ready with their jibes and jokes at every stopping-place, and thoroughly posted on the gossip of the whole countryside. They took a great pride in being the repository of all local information and their greatest pleasure was to retail it to an interested listener. Like the captain of a sailing vessel, they felt their importance as being in charge of the coach-and-four, and to those who respected this pride of leadership they were affable and genial.

Some of the old taverns soon showed signs of decay, and in a few years, of many a one it could be said,

> "Its glories have vanished, and only the ghost
> Of a sign-board now creaks on its desolate post.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The wind whistles shrill through the wide open doors,
> And lizards keep house on the mouldering floors;
> The kitchen is cold, and the hall is as still
> As the heart of the hostess out there on the hill."

Some of the landlords had been prosperous and provident, and were so situated as to be able to continue in business, although it was not so profitable, and end their days in ease and comfort. But life had gone from the road. The sound of the approaching coach was no longer heard. The railroad had created a revolution in travel.

> "And lo! at the sunrise a shrill whistle blew
> O'er the hills—and the old yielded place to the new."

THE DESERTED INN

Cornwallis In North Carolina

Episodes of The Revolutionary Period

BY

IDA CLIFTON HINSHAW

I

THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF THE LANIER MANSION

ON THAT very memorable "fox and goose" chase of Lord Cornwallis and General Greene through the Carolinas in 1781 the British General, with six or seven thousand regular troops, spent the night on the plantation of Colonel Robert Lanier in Yadkin County, now Surry, one mile from the Shallowford, near where the quaint, sleepy, little village of Huntsville now stands, steeped in an utter indifference to the world which lies beyond, a tranquillity undisturbed by modern progress.

Prior to the Civil War, it was the home of many prominent Southern families, who entertained lavishly, but who are for the most part now widely scattered or dead.

Toward the beginning of the Revolutionary War, Robert Lanier and Elizabeth Pettill, who both belonged to well-known Virginia families, had married in Granville County, Virginia, and had moved to Surry County, North Carolina, settling on the banks of the beautiful Yadkin River, a mile above the Shallowford.

It was growing late in the afternoon one February day, and the sun was just setting,—a great ball of fire,—when Mrs. Lanier saw the British troops coming down the long hill which led to the creek between her house and them. She had heard that they were on their way. It was truly a wonderful sight. "The most splendid she had ever seen," Mrs. Lanier often told her grandchildren, who in turn told their children. The swords and brilliant uniforms were "glistening in the setting sun of golden glory." She stood in the doorway and watched them approach, shading her eyes with her hand.

Lord Cornwallis advanced, and, in his haughtiest manner, told her that he and his officers would occupy the house that night, and that she and her small daughter and nurse could occupy the room next to the kitchen; that they must go to their rooms at once and stay until morning.

As the dark shadows began to lengthen, she heard the men moving noisily about the house. The cooks Lord Cornwallis had brought with him were in the

kitchen, busily preparing supper—making bread and frying ham. She had seen them coming from the smoke-houses laden with meat and meal. She had heard a perfect babel of noise—her hens bidding a passionate protest against being beheaded. In the gathering darkness, she saw the men bringing up the butter from the "spring house."

Mrs. Lanier's little daughter began to cry. She was very hungry. Tempting odors assailed their nostrils. The mother opened the door which led into the long, low-ceilinged kitchen and demanded of one of the "strapping" cooks (as she described her), some food for her child. The servant insolently told her to go back to her room where she had been told to say. Then she "stole," she said, for the first time in her life, and then from herself!

When this cook's back was turned, and the other two gone to the pantry,—there were three,—she took out the two longest and fattest "drumsticks" she could find, and a hot cake of bread that threatened to burn her fingers, and hurried to her little daughter. To steal and then to curse—she, the proud Mrs. Lanier! And yet both had been done that same afternoon. For earlier in the afternoon, on the arrival of the troops, she had cursed, "what few words she knew." Her vocabulary was not large enough in fact to fit the case, and she longed for a stronger one.

The day before she had sent, in response to an urgent message from her husband, a horse to him, a new suit of clothes, and some provisions.

When Washington had sent General Greene to Charlotte, he had found a remnant of an army. The soldiers' clothes were so tattered that some of them were held together by locust thorns. Colonel Lanier had written how necessary it was that he have another suit. So his wife had hastened one of the plantation darkies with the necessary supplies, when, to her utter amazement, he came riding up with Cornwallis' men, clad in the very suit she had sent, and on the very horse, and with a broad grin! He had met the officers, and they had told him he might join them, and arrayed him thus. Milton has said, "one tongue is enough for a woman." Mrs. Lanier wanted two that afternoon, she said.

The next morning the officers destroyed every article of furniture in the house, except one large, "home-made" corner-cupboard. The afternoon before Lord Cornwallis had ordered the quaint old china thrown to the floor and replaced by his silver and gold service, and Mrs. Lanier thought the reason why they left the old cupboard undestroyed was because the camp women did not get out the silver in time for the soldiers to do the work of destruction, as they were late in starting on their journey. On account of its being the only article left, which was used by Cornwallis during his occupation of the Lanier mansion, it has been kept in the family ever since and called "Cornwallis' cupboard."

Colonel Lanier died soon afterwards and his widow later married Captain Frank Poindexter. The old cupboard is now in the possession of Captain and Mrs. Poindexter's great-granddaughter, Mrs. E. P. Jarratt, of Yadkin County, North Carolina.

The next morning Cornwallis' troops moved on. They destroyed everything in sight. Fields were downtrodden, barns pillaged, smoke-houses emptied, and not a vestige of anything to eat left. Late that afternoon, a farm-hand, returning to his cabin, heard a mournful note in some tall reeds on the river bank, a frightened, solitary cry. He investigated, and found peering out of the reeds an old gander, the only one of the feathered tribe that the soldiers had left.

Every horse had been taken from Mrs. Lanier, so she went to Lord Cornwallis and told him that he had demolished her furniture, he had taken all her provisions, he had left her farm desolate, and she *must* have a horse to go to her people. So he left her one, and her saddle he also told his men to leave. One of the cooks, who had discovered Mrs. Lanier's "theft" of her own chicken, rushed back to the kitchen and got a butcher knife, and slashed off the girth and stirrups and cut the saddle into bits. So Mrs. Lanier, her nurse, and little daughter started on horseback, without saddle, for her father's home in Virginia, eighty miles distant, where she arrived safely.

That winter, historians tell us, was not such a cold one, but the roads were swollen by heavy and frequent rains that almost rendered them impassable. Lord Cornwallis, on account of the swollen waters of the Yadkin, had been compelled to make a wide detour up the river to get across.

These memoirs were furnished by Mrs. Clingman, a great-granddaughter of Mrs. Lanier, who often heard her grandmother tell these incidents as related by *her* mother, who lived to be very old.

II

CORNWALLIS AND THE MORAVIANS

In his "History of the Old North State in 1776-1781," Rev. E. W. Caruthers states that in 1854 he wrote to the Clerk of the Moravian Society in Salem "for any facts relative to the British Army, contained in their (the Moravians') records, and with much promptness and courtesy he sent me the following communications, for which he has my sincere acknowledgments."

"1781, February 5, 6, and 7, militia men in small parties, and in whole companies, passed through Salem.

"February 8th, news was brought to Salem that Lord Cornwallis with his army had crossed the Yadkin at the Shallowford.

"February 9th, Lord Cornwallis arrived at Bethany [Hausertown] with the whole British Army about noon, and encamped. The houses were filled with British officers and their servants. Three hundred pounds of bread, one hundred gallons of whiskey, and all the flour to be found, were taken by the enemy. Sixty head of cattle, not to number sheep and poultry, were likewise seized upon. Twenty horses were demanded, but could not be found in the village. Violent threats

of many of the officers greatly alarmed the inhabitants, and universal consternation pervaded the village.

"February 10th, about 7:00 a. m. the enemy commenced to leave Bethany. The Colonel of Artillery took seventeen horses instead of the twenty demanded. The British passed through Bethabara [Old Town], and about 10 a. m., their dragoons entered Salem, followed by the main body of the army, which continued to pass through the town till 4:00 p. m. Lord Cornwallis and staff remained about one hour in the town. After the main body of the troops had left Salem, stragglers committed many acts of theft and robbing in various parts of the town. The brethren's house lost nine oxen; and from Bethabara eighteen of their largest oxen had to be delivered to the British. The wagon belonging to the British house had to convey two loads of flour from the mill to the British camp at Frederick Miller's, about four miles from Salem."

And a story is told also how, passing through the peaceful Moravian settlement on February 9th, one of the officers, seeing a curious looking pot in an open field, snatched it up as he marched by. A little later, however, when several of the men, in company with Cornwallis, were in the little bakery of the quaint old Salem of those days, seeking what they might devour, this same officer, in his eagerness for food, laid his sword upon the counter. A boy, who had seen the theft of the old Dutch pot, seized the sword and hid it. The officer, who was evidently greedy and hungry, walked away without it. This sword, discolored and rusty with age, is now among the treasures of the old Salem Archive House as a relic of a crafty boy and a greedy officer.

"The Moravians took no part in the Revolution, soldiers, fighting, and boisterous conduct being foreign to their creed, which was in every sense according to Isaiah,—'Go gently all thy days.' The kindness of these people to all who came their way in those troublous times caused the community of the Brethren to be spoken of as the 'Dutchmen's home where there is much bread.' "

"So many came to them for shelter that it was finally necessary to build a 'Strangers' Home,' so that the Brethren need not be turned out of their beds to give refuge to these wanderers."

This old tavern, built about 1766, is still standing today, quaint and fascinating as in the May of that year of 1781, when General George Washington, President of the United States, was guest while on his way to visit Alexander Martin, Governor of North Carolina. He spent a night and day there, visiting the officers and houses of the Brethren. In a letter to the latter he thanked them for his entertainment. This letter, together with a song written and sung on the General's visit, may be seen today in the Archive House.

III

BRITISH MILITARY DESPATCHES, RECENTLY FOUND

Recently a most interesting "find" was made on the plantation of Mr. James M. McGuire, about fifteen miles from Huntsville, near where Cornwallis encamped. An employé found on the place an old sealed bottle. On breaking it open it was found to contain two despatches yellowed by time, and supposed to have been written when Cornwallis passed through that vicinity.

In a letter from Mr. McGuire about these despatches, he says: "In compliance with your request, I enclose copies of the despatches found in a bottle on my place. I copied them from the originals, and have followed the arrangement, spelling, size of paper as nearly as I can. You will notice that the battle of Cowpens was fought January 17th, 1781,—four days after the date of the despatches found. In Dr. Lyman C. Draper's 'History of the Battle of King's Mountain,' you will find some information as to the route of Cornwallis through this part of the State and his stop at Salem, N. C."

The despatches are on paper about four by six inches. One is directed "To Lieut. R. St. John of His Majesty's 10th Dragoons," and says on the reverse side:

"Jan. 13, 1781. Honored Sir, I enclose herewith An Important Dispatch for Lord Cornwallis. Send It to Him by Courier at Once

I am yours

W. R de V."

The other is addressed: "Jan. 13, 1781. To Lord Cornwallis. Important." The despatch is as follows:

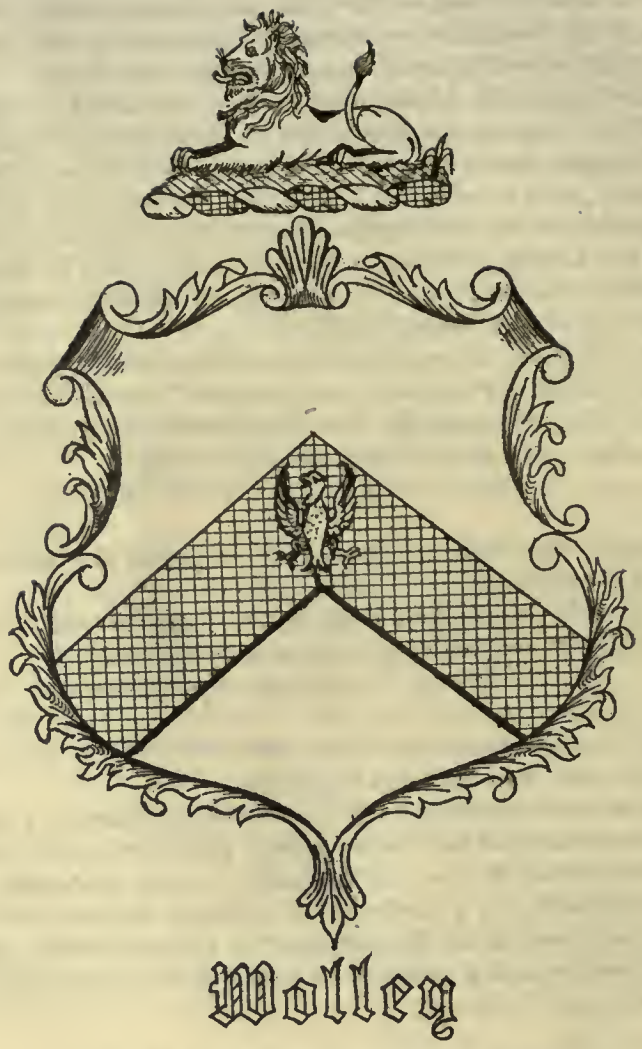
"Jan. 13, 1781. Great And Honored Sir, I am Informed Bye a Spy that Greene and Morgan Are About to Move toward Cowpens.

I am your most Obedient Servant

W. R de V."

It would be most interesting to know who "W. R de V." was, and all the history connected with these yellowed despatches.

The Battle of Cowpens was fought on Wednesday, January 17th, 1781. Lord Cornwallis was encamped on Turkey Creek, about twenty-five miles below, in South Carolina, where he was waiting, partly to learn the results of Tarleton's movements, but chiefly for a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men from Charleston, then approaching under the command of General Leslie. The victory at Cowpens led to Cornwallis' chase of Greene and that chase brought about the British surrender at Yorktown.



ARMS OF WOLLEY OF DORSETSHIRE, ENGLAND
A Daughter of this Line Became the Mother of William Asfordby, Sheriff and Magistrate of Ulster County, New York, in the Late Seventeenth Century

Queen Elizabeth at Cowdray Castle

A Stately Mansion and Its Sumptuous Life & Masques and Pageants for the Royal Guest & Annals of an Ancient Line Whose Name Was Brought to the American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century

BY

MARY BRYANT ALVERSON MEHLING

Author of the Cowdrey—Cowdery—Cowdray Genealogy

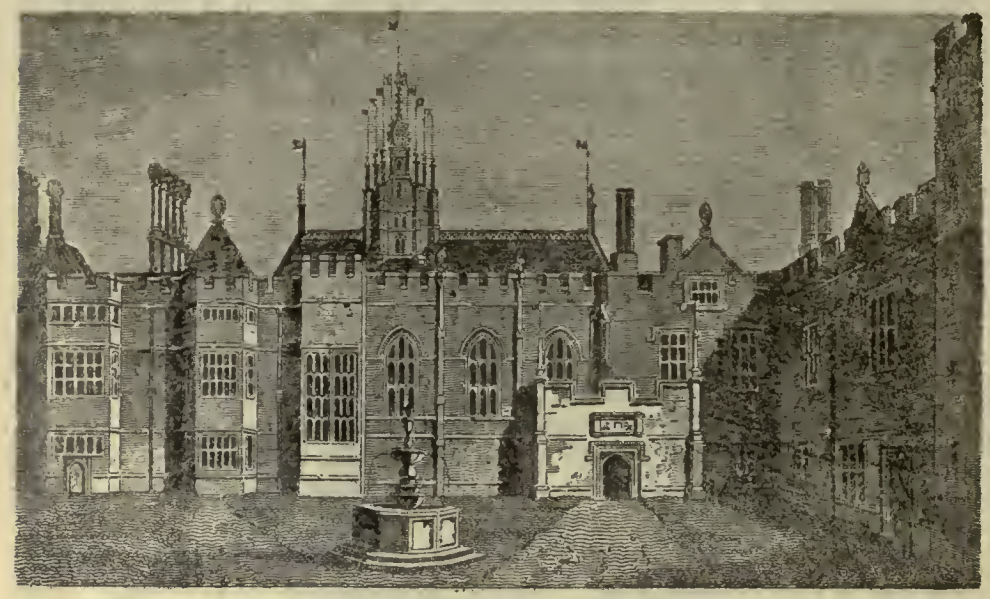
N THE YEAR 1251 Fulk de Coudray held the manor of Moulsoe or Mulshoe, in Newport Hundred, Buckinghamshire, England. He was succeeded by a son and grandson, both named Peter. Then came Thomas de Coudray, who was living in the fourth year of the reign of King Edward the Second; then another Thomas, and then a second Fulk, who was the last of the line to hold this Manor, which passed to the Talbots.

Later the family were in Berkshire and Hampshire, among the gentry, and armigerous, in both Counties. When the Heralds of England made their famous "Visitation" of the Arms-bearing families of the country in 1634, to collect for official preservation the genealogical records and descriptions of Coat-Armor borne, they went to the Cowdreys of Hampshire to learn of their ancestry. The record which they obtained begins with an Edward Cowdrey, whose son was "Pierse" Cowdrey of Heriott in Hampshire. "Pierse" married a daughter of Robert Larder of Dorsetshire, and it may be conjectured whether they were the ancestors of William Cowdery, who was born in Weymouth, County Dorset, in 1602, and came to New England in 1630.

The interesting, and sometimes thrilling, story of his race in America has been told by Mrs. Mehling in her "Cowdrey-Cowdery-Cowdray Genealogy." The book is a detailed and accurate family history, and some of its pages teem with romance. One of the line was a Surgeon in the United States Navy during our War with the Barbary States in the early Eighteen-Hundreds. Captured by the Turks, he was held prisoner in Tripoli for a year and a half, during which time he kept a diary. Its records of his experiences during his captivity are one of the few "human documents" which have been handed down to tell us of our splendid young Nation's gallant and victorious fight against the insolent "graft" of the North African pirates. It is of most timely interest at the present time when Tripoli again is the scene of war,—a war this time of aggression and not of justice and defence of rights, as was that of the United States.

THE EDITOR

N THE gentle slope of an eminence which forms part of the rolling landscape of the lovely South Downs of the County of Sussex, England, about fifty miles from the stir and life of London, lies the little town of Midhurst, near which is Cowdray Castle. It has an air of dignity which becomes its great age, and an aristocratic tone belonging to its association with history and important personages who have lived in its vicinity. It is one of those historic old towns in which England abounds; where every walk leads to some quaint point of interest, and the air is laden with traditions of the dim and far away past, when scenes which have become history were enacted within its bounds, and knights and fair ladies moved through its streets in life, and were carried to their last resting-place within the precincts of its ancient church.

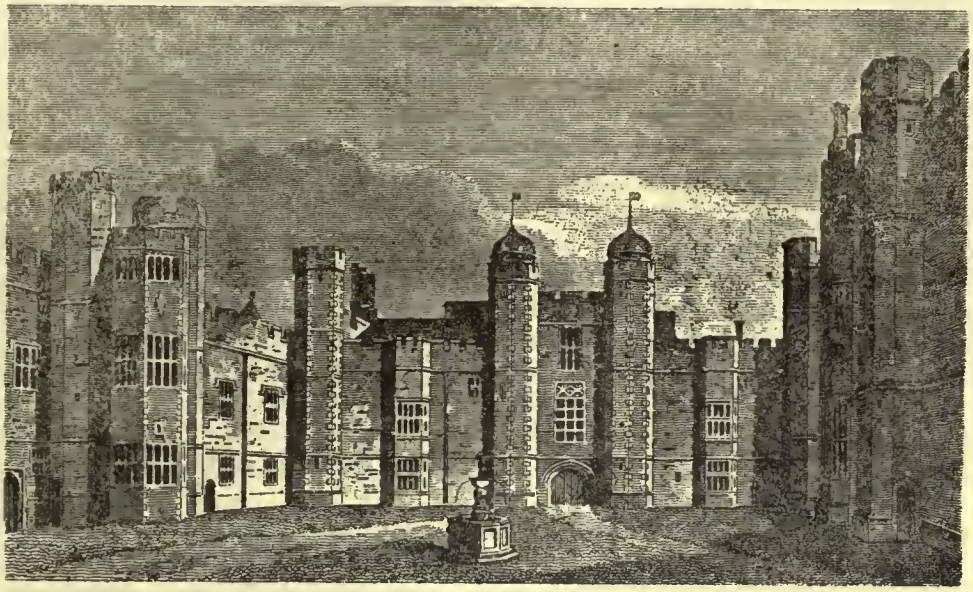


INNER FRONT OF COWDRAY CASTLE

The site of the present town is of great antiquity, having been a Roman station very early in the Christian era, about the Third Century, and was called by the Romans Miba or Mida, from which the later name of Midhurst was probably derived. There are houses still standing in some of its streets which bear the initials of the owners and the dates of building, three of which are 1621, 1650, and 1660.

From 1311 to 1813 the right of voting was vested in several Burghers, or Tenants, who were seized of houses, lands, or tenements, held of the Lords of

the Borough of Midhurst by ancient Burgage tenure. It did not matter whether or not the tenants actually lived within the Borough. Hence it happened that when one of the owners of Cowdray Park wished to build a wall around his possessions, he found several of these tenements standing in the line with his wall. He calmly removed them, built his wall, and inserted in it so many large stones, each on the spot where the tenement had stood, to mark the site, and each inscribed "A Burgage." These stones each represented a vote, which gave rise to many facetious remarks as to the Members representing stones in Parliament. One of these "Burgage" stones may still be seen, with its inscription, set into a house on the outskirts of Midhurst. Fox, the eminent statesman, represented Midhurst in



QUADRANGLE OF COWDRAY CASTLE

the House of Commons, he being at the time only nineteen years of age, just at the threshold of his Parliamentary career.

The Curfew bell is still rung at eight o'clock each evening from the tower of the old church. Whether or not it was rung from the time of the institution of the Curfew, in the reign of William the First, is not known. Tradition has it that the present custom dates from the night, "a long time ago," when a belated traveler from London, unable to find his road, heard a bell ringing and followed its sound until he reached Midhurst. In gratitude for the help received which led him to safety, he gave a piece of land as a perpetual endowment for the ringing of a bell every night at Midhurst at eight o'clock.

The ecclesiastical history of Midhurst is also very ancient, and it would be interesting to follow the religious life and some of the quaint customs connected with it, but space forbids more than the briefest mention. Midhurst Church was the offspring of the Benedictine Priory of Easebourne, situated on the road past Cowdray Park. Mention is found of it as early as 1249, and the church was probably built sometime between that date and 1422, when it seems to have been rebuilt. It was again rebuilt, or restored, in 1881, when the following old notice-board, undated, was found among the accumulated rubbish about the church. "It is requested by the Minister and Churchwardens that all persons will refrain from wearing pattens into Church during the celebration of Divine Service. It is also requested by the same the Minister and Churchwardens that no person or persons of whatever age, more especially Children, will intrude themselves into the Church or Churchyard so as to cause noise, confusion or interruption during the performance of the solemn rite of Burial or on any other occasion whatsoever."

Passing out of the town by a pleasant country road, leading to the northeast, and walking along for some distance, we come to a wide iron gateway swung on massive stone supports, and, passing within, we find ourselves in the beautiful Park of Cowdray, with its ivy-covered ruins of the fine old castle, which are the chief pride and attraction of Midhurst. On every hand are magnificent trees, large belts of them stretching for miles in every direction.

The estate was in the possession of the Cowdray family for many years, and their name has clung to it every since. In 1304 Thomas de Cowdray is mentioned as owner, and it is quite possible that he is the same person as the Thomas de Coudray who was living in the fourth year of Edward II (1310), and who possessed the ancient manor of Moulsoe or Mulshoe, in Newport Hundred, Buckinghamshire, and who was the great-grandson of Fulc de Coudray, or Cowdray, of Moulsoe, who died in 1251.

A glance at the accompanying illustrations of the old castle of Cowdray will give the reader some idea of the strength and beauty of the structure as it was before the fire, which utterly devastated its interior, but made little impression on the massive walls. The towers and walls, with their ivied windows, still stand proudly erect, marking the quadrangle of the ancient building. This quadrangle enclosed a court, forty yards long, now carpeted with grass, and having in the centre a graceful fountain. At the far end, on the south, was another entrance, leading into still another quadrangle, devoted to farm buildings.

The principal room of the castle was a noble hall, called "the Buck Hall," from the fact that it had, according to an old historian, "at the upper end a buck standing, carved in brown wood, on the shoulder a shield with the Arms of England," and "ten other bucks, as large as life, standing, lying and sitting, some with small banners of Arms supported by their feet." Of this great hall, a very entertaining and useful little work, The Guide Book to Midhurst and the Neighborhood, says:

"The chief entrance is through a lofty archway. The visitor enters a spacious court; opposite are the walls of the east side, which enclose the noble hall. . . . The roof is richly wrought in a delicate fret work, and displays the cognizance of Lord Southampton, an anchor and a trefoil with his cypher 'W. S.' in Gothic letters. The hall is ceiled with Irish oak, after the ancient manner, and is called 'The Buck Hall.' It is a noble apartment, sixty feet long by twenty-eight feet, wainscoted with cedar, and around it, above the cornice, are placed stags, life size, carved in oak. . . . The walls are adorned with architecture by Roberti, the statutes by Goupe, and the staircase by Pelegrim."

The dining-room of the castle contained Holbein's painting of the exploits of Henry VIII at Boulogne and Calais. In other rooms were ancestral portraits, some copies from Raphael, and other paintings. All these and many other priceless treasures of art, which the house stored, the accumulation of ages, were destroyed with the old castle by fire in 1793.

Among the notable personages who visited Cowdray in its glorious days was Doctor Johnson, who remarked to his host: "Sir, I should like to stay here four-and-twenty hours. We see here how our ancestors lived." He was there in 1782. Edward VI also paid a visit, and was so well pleased with his entertainment that, in a private letter, he describes it as "a goodlie house, where we were marvellously, yea, rather excessively banketted."

The modern mansion is a fitting successor to the old castle. It has been built gradually, portion by portion, as the owner pleased, yet with perfect harmony in the whole. The style is irregular and picturesque,—an ideal English home, with the air of home pervading it. All that wealth could do to beautify it, both inside and out, has been done. Inside, beauty and richness of color greet the eye, while all is within the bounds of domestic comfort. It is the home of the Earls of Egmont.

The "Great Hall" of the house, high-vaulted and wood-paneled, is fifty feet long, thirty feet wide, and sixty feet high, with a ceiling of polished pine. At each end is a great perpendicular window, with heavy mullions, while the walls are of a high paneling of bright brown wood, with yellowish walls above. In the centre is a vast chimneypiece of stone, with the Arms of the family carved over it and stags as Supporters. Everywhere there is armour, complete suits, brasses, and armorial bearings. Above the paneling are family portraits, while the chief ornaments of the room are the heads of many stags. This is the successor of the "Buck Hall" of the old castle.

In the drawing-room is a beautiful mantlepiece of onyx, with its lucid, shimmering lights, and one would like to linger over the fine old woods used in the library, brought from an old hall in Surrey which belonged to the Earl of Egmont, but we must pass on and out again into the park through the pleasure gardens which surround the house and slope down to the river's edge, and on through the miniature forest of dark-leaved exotic trees which have been naturalized in the

kindly soil and atmosphere of Sussex since the building of the present house. Here are two magnificent cedars, measuring over sixteen feet in girth, while near the house is a fine camelia, bearing over a thousand blossoms.

A splendid episode in the history of old Cowdray is the visit in 1591 of Queen Elizabeth, who spent a week there as the honored guest. Her visit is thus described in an ancient paper:

"The Queen having dined at Farnham, arrived at Cowdray with a train about eight o'clock at night, on Saturday, the 15th August. Upon her Majesty coming in sight, loud music sounded, which at her entrance on the bridge suddenly ceased; then was a speech delivered (by a personage in armour, standing between two porters carved out of wood, he resembling the third, holding his club in one hand and a golden key in the other), as follows: 'As the walls of Thebes were raised by music so these are kept from falling. It was a prophecy since the first stone was laid, that these walls should shake, and the roof totter, till the wisest, fairest, and most fortunate of all creatures, should, by her first step, make the foundations staid, and by the glance of her eye make the turret steady. I have been porter here many years, many ladies have entered, passing amiable, many very wise, but none so happy. These, my fellow porters, thinking there could be none so noble, fell on sleep, and so incurred the second curse of the prophecy; which is never again to awake. Mark how they look! more like posts than porters, retaining only their shapes, but deprived of their senses. I thought rather to cut off my eyelids than to wink until I saw the end. And now it is; for the music is now at an end. This house is immovable, your virtue immortal. Oh, miracle of Time! Nature's glory! Fortune's empress! The world's wonder! Soft, this is the poet's part and not the porter's. I have nothing to present but the crest of my office—this key. Enter, possess all, to whom the heavens have vouchsafed all. As for the owner of this house—mine honoured lord—his tongue is the key of his heart, and his heart the lock of his soul. Therefore what he speaks you may constantly believe, which is, that in duty and service to your Majesty, he would be second to none, in praying for your happiness equal to any.'

"The Queen then accepted the key, saying: 'She would swear as to the fidelity of the master.' . . . That night the Queen took her rest in the velvet bedchamber. Next day, being Sunday, her Majesty was most royally feasted, three oxen and one hundred and forty geese part of the breakfast.

"On Monday morning, about eight o'clock, the Queen with all her train rode into the park. Here a nymph emerged from a delicate bower, and singing a sweet song accompanied by music, presented the Queen with a cross-bow; with this she killed three or four deer, some thirty of them been previously enclosed in a paddock for the occasion. The Countess of Kildare, the only lady of her train who ventured to shoot with her Majesty, having brought down one of the deer, thereby incurred her royal mistress's displeasure, and it is said she did not afterwards dine at the royal table. In the evening of the same day, about six o'clock,

the Queen witnessed, from the turret nearest the drawing-room, sixteen bucks down by greyhounds on the lawn, all of them having fair law.

"On Tuesday, the Queen was feasted at Easebourne Priory, and after dinner visited the walks. Here she was met by a man in the habit of a pilgrim; his coat and hat being of russet velvet, with scallop-shells formed of cloth of silver, who addressed her as follows:

" 'Fairest of all creatures, vouchsafe to hear the prayer of the pilgrim, which shall be short, and the petition, which is reasonable. God grant the world may end with your life, and that your life may be more happy than any in the world; that is my prayer. I have travelled many countries, and in all countries desire antiquities. In this island (but a span in respect of the world) and in this shire (but a finger in regard of your realm), I have heard great cause of wonder, some complaint. Hard by, and so near as your Majesty shall almost pass by, I saw an oak, whose stateliness nailed mine eye to the branches, and the ornaments beguiled my thoughts with astonishment. I thought it free in a field, but I found it not so; for at the very entry I met I know not what roughhewed ruffian, whose arms were carved out of a knotty box, for I could receive nothing from him but boxes; so hasty was he to strike, he had no leisure to speak. I thought there were more ways to the wood than one, and finding another passage, I met a lady very fair, and passing forward, her words set me in a greater heat than blows. I asked her name, she said it was Peace; I wondered that Peace could never hold her peace. I cannot persuade myself since that time, but that there is a wasp's nest in mine ear. I returned discontent. But if it will please your Majesty to view the oak, that rude champion at your fair feet will lay down his foul head, and at your beck that lady will make her mouth her tongue's mue. Haply your Majesty shall find some content; I more antiquities.'

"Then the pilgrim conducted her highness to the oak, whereon her Majesty's arms, and all the arms of the noblemen of the shire, were hanged in escutcheons, guarded by a wild man clad in ivy, who, in his turn, delivered a speech as follows:

" 'Mighty princess, whose happiness is attended by the heavens, and whose government is wondered at upon the earth, vouchsafe to hear why this passage is kept, and this oak honoured. The whole world is drawn in a map, the heavens in a globe, and this shire shrunk in a tree. That what your Majesty hath often heard of, with some comfort, you may now behold with full content. This oak, from whose body so many arms do spread, and out of whose arms so many fingers spring, resembles, in part, your strength and happiness; strength, in number and the honour; happiness in the truth and content. All hearts of oak, than which nothing is surer, nothing sounder. All woven in one root, than which nothing is more constant, nothing more natural. The wall of this shire is the sea, strong, but rampired with true hearts, invincible, where every private man's eye is a beacon to discover, every nobleman's power, a bulwark to defend. Here they are all differing somewhat in degrees, not in duty; the greatness of the branches,

not the greenness. Your Majesty, they account the oak the tree of Jupiter, whose root is so deeply fastened that treachery, though she undermine to the centre, cannot find the windings, and whose top is so highly reared, that envy, though she shoot on top-height, cannot reach it under whose arms they have both shade and shelter. Well wot they, that your enemies' lightning are but flashes, and their thunder which fills the whole world with a noise of conquest, shall end with a soft shower of retreat. Be then as confident in your steps as Caesar was in his fortunes; his proceedings were but of conceit, yours virtue. Abroad courage hath made you feared; at home honoured clemency, clemency which the owner of this grove hath tasted in such sort, that his thoughts are become his heart's

COWDRAY CASTLE, WEST VIEW

labyrinth, surprised with joy and loyalty; joy without, loyalty without end, living in no other air than that which breathes your Majesty's safety. For himself and all these honourable gentlemen, whose shields your Majesty doth here behold, I can say this, that as the veins are dispersed through all the body; yet when the heart feeleth any extreme passion, send all the blood to the heart for comfort: so they, being in divers places, when your Majesty shall but stand in fear of any danger, will bring their bodies, their purses, their souls to your Highness, being their heart, their head, and their sovereign. This passage is kept straight, and the pilgrim I fear hath complained; but such a disguised world it is, that we can scarce know a pilgrim from a priest, a tailor from a gentleman, nor a man from

a woman; every man seeming to be that which he is not. The heavens guide you, your Highness governs us. Though our peace be envied by them, yet we hope it shall be eternal.'

"This being ended, a bugle sounded and there was a cry of hounds, and three bucks having been pulled down they returned to Cowdray to supper. On Wednesday the Queen visited the close walks, and after hearing most exquisite music, her Majesty was brought to a fish pond, where a man was angling, who, appearing not to take notice of her presence, spoke thus to himself:

" 'Next rowing in a western barge, well fare angling. Though I have been here this two hours I cannot catch an oyster; it may be for lack of a bait, and that were hard in this nibbling world, where every man lays bait for another. In

COWDRAY CASTLE, NORTHEAST VIEW

the city, merchants bait their tongues with a lie and with an oak, and so make simple men swallow deceitful ware. And fishing for commodity is grown so far, that men are become fishes; for landlords put such sweet baits on rack tents that it were as good to be a perch in a pike's belly, as a tenant in their farms. All our trade is grown to treachery, for now our fish are caught with medicines which are as wholesome as love procured by witchcraft is unfortunate. We anglers make our lines of divers colours, according to the kinds of waters. So men do their loves, aiming at the complexion of the faces. Thus merchandise, love and lordships suck venom out of virtue. I think I shall fish all day and not catch a

frog; the cause is neither in the line, the hook, nor the bait, but something is there over beautiful which stayeth the very minnow (of all fish the most eager) from biting. For this we anglers observe that the shadow of a man turneth back the fish; what then will the sight of a goddess do? 'Tis best angling in a lowering day, for here the sun so glistens that the fish see my hook through the bait. But soft, here are the netters; these be they, that cannot content themselves with a dish of fish for their supper, but must draw a whole pond for a market.'

Having finished his speech, he called aloud to a netter who was drawing his net to where the Queen stood.

" 'Ho, Sirrah! What will you take for your draught of fishes?'

" 'If there be never a whale in it, take it for a noble,' quoth the netter.

" 'Be there any maids there?' said the angler.

" 'Maids, fool! They be sea fish,' answered the netter.

" 'Why?' asked the angler.

" 'Because Venus was born of the sea, and it is reason she should have maids to attend her,' was the reply.

"Then turning to the Queen the netter thus addressed her:

" 'Madam, it is an old saying—there is no fishing to the sea, nor service to the King—but it holds when the sea is calm and the King is virtuous. Your virtue maketh envy blush and stand amazed at your happiness. I did not come to tell the art of fishing, neither the nature of fish nor their dainties; but the wish of a poor fisherman is, that all the hollow hearts to your Majesty were in my net; and if there be more than it will hold I would they were in the sea till I went there a fishing. There is some so muddy-minded that they cannot live in clear water, but a standing pool. As camels will not drink till they have troubled the waters, so they can never staunch their thirst till they have troubled the state with their treacheries. Soft, these are no fancies for fisherman. True hearts are as good as full purses, one the sinews of war, the other of arms. A dish of fish is an unworthy present for a prince to accept. There be some carps among them, no carpers of state; if there be, may they be handled like carp; their tongues pulled out. I know there are some perches, and if any are perched higher than in duty they ought to be, I would they might suddenly pick over the perch for me. Whatsoever there is, if good, it is all yours, most virtuous lady, that are best worthy of all.'

"After this the Queen was sumptuously feasted in the walks, and in the evening again witnessed bucks pulled down on the lawn.

"On Thursday, a table forty-eight yards long was spread in the private garden; here the Queen, with all her attendants, sat down to dinner. In the evening the country people were allowed to present themselves before the Queen, and danced with tabor and pipe before her. . . . The next morning, Friday, she departed towards Chichester. Before mounting, she conferred the honour of knighthood upon six gentlemen."

There is a curious old book preserved at the Priory, Easebourne, which was written shortly after the royal visit. An extract from it will give the reader some idea of the stateliness of the life at Cowdray at that time, and account, in some measure, for the extraordinary consumption of food upon that august occasion.

The book contains rules, written by the lord of Cowdray for the direction of his family and household, and also gives a list of the principal officers and servants residing in the establishment, viz.: "1. My steward of householde. 2. My comptroller. 3. My chief stewarde of courtes. 4. My auditor. 5. My generall receiver. 6. My solicitor. 7. My other principal officers. 8. My secretary. 9. My gentlemen ushers. 10. My carver. 11. My sewer. 12. The gentlemen of my chamber. 13. The gentlemen of my horses. 14. The gentlemen wayters. 15. The marshall of my hall. 16. The clerk of my kitchen. 17. The yeoman of my great chamber. 21. The clerk of mine officers' chambers. 22. The yeoman of my horse. 23. The yeoman of my cellar. 24. The yeoman of my ewrye. 25. The yeoman of my pantrye. 26. The yeoman of my butterye. 27. The yeoman of my wardroppe. 28. The yeoman wayters. 29. The seconde cooke and the rest. 30. The porter. 31. The granator. 32. The bayliffe. 33. The baker. 34. The brewer. 35. The groomes of the great chamber. 36. The almoner. 37. The sculleryman."

The order of the service of the household is as follows:

"When I have given notice that I am ready for my dinner or supper, then my gentlemen usher shall see the carver and sewer to wash at the ewyre board, and there severally to be armed; which done, he shall thence depart with the carver to my table, having commanded the sewer down to the dresser; who forthwith, going down to the hall, as he entereth it, the usher thereof shall say with an audible voice: 'Gentlemen and yeoman, wait upon the sewer for my lord;' and he shall not depart thence until he have, at the least, six gentlemen and yeomen to wait upon him, till the rest have come to the service. At his coming to the dresser, he shall call 'For my lord,' and so cause the chief cook to set forth the meat, which being served, he shall deliver the dishes at his direction, and so depart with the service, all covered; and at his entering into the hall herewith, the usher there shall stand ready at the screen, and say to them in the hall, 'By your leave, my masters,' causing them to stand uncovered till my said service be passed; himself going before it to the upper end of the hall, and at the door there, the yeoman usher shall meet the sewer and go before him to the great chamber door, at which place the gentleman usher shall receive him and usher him with the said service to my table, doing due reverence thereto; and there the sewer shall severally deliver the dishes to the carver, then give his attendance upon the table until he be first; and thus much for my ordinary service.
commanded for the second course, which in all respects is to be used like unto the

"But on extraordinary occasions, and festival times, I will that my stewart and comptroller being in fair gowns, and having white staves in their hands, go

from the screen, next before the sewer, through the hall, and the marshall before them, and the two ushers before him; and that the marshall, as the meat passeth the screen, shall, with a commendable voice, say to them present, the words, 'By your leave, my masters,' and so proceed in order. When they come to the upper end of the hall, the marshall and six ushers shall divide themselves, the marshall on the one side, and the ushers on the other; and at the entering out thereof, I will that the gentlemen ushers and yeomen ushers of the great chamber receive the service and go orderly before it; first, the two yeomen ushers, next the two gentlemen ushers, then my chief officers, and lastly the sewer; and at their coming into the great chamber, I will that the two yeomen ushers, after reverence done, part in the midst of the chamber, and give place to service; and that the two gentlemen ushers, a little forward, do part, the one to the one side, and the other to the other side of the table, and so meet at the salt; and that my chief officers, after reverence done, give place and stand a little above the midst of the chamber, by the carpet; and the carver in manner and order as he was wont, which done, and the sewer descharged, I will that my said chief officers and the ushers do go for their several dinners and suppers, and at the second course that they leave their meat and attend the service up in like manner, and then return to their own diet again."

The Lexington of The Seas

BY

JOHN FRANCIS SPRAGUE

President of the Piscataquis Historical Society, Member of the Maine Historical Society, Member of the Maine Society, Sons of the Revolution, Author of "Sebastian Rale, A Maine Tragedy of the Eighteenth Century," "The North Eastern Boundary Question and the Aroostook War," Etc.

ON THE nineteenth day of April, 1775, the intrepid farmers of Lexington fired the "shot heard around the world," and on the twelfth day of June, five days before the Battle of Bunker Hill, a sturdy Irishman on the easterly shore of the Province of Maine, with a handful of brave lumbermen, river-drivers, farmers, and sailors, their hearts burning with the same flame of patriotism, successfully fought the first naval battle of the American Revolution, captured the first British war vessel, was the first to haul down the British flag and bring to death the first of her captains of the sea in that great conflict for human rights.

As early as 1633 the English, perceiving that it would be of commercial importance for them to have possessions east of the Penobscot River, established a trading post on the westerly shore of Machias River[1] near where it empties into Machias Bay, and about where the village is now situated.

Claude de la Tour and his son, Charles, were prominent figures in the history of Acadia and New England in the Seventeenth Century.

This settlement had existed but a few months, when Charles de la Tour, then the French Commandant at Port Royal, regarding it as a trespass upon territory to which he held title, sent soldiers there who captured it and laid it to waste.

After La Tour's devastation of the place, no further attempts were made to hold it as a trading and military post by either the French or English for about one hundred and twenty years, except one feeble move made by the French in 1664, which proved a failure.

In 1688 Governor Andros took measures to ascertain the number of inhabitants between the Penobscot and the St. Croix, and the entire number at Machias, all French settlers, was only nine, but these were not allowed to remain there unmolested, for in 1704 the English broke up their habitations and drove them away.

In the summer of 1762 Isaiah Foster and Isaac Labree, having knowledge that there were extensive marshes of wild swail hay along the Machias River, went there with vessels for the purpose of cutting and transporting hay to their homes in Scarboro, in the Province of Maine.

While there they made an exploration of the country, and finding a large belt of valuable pine timber, through which were flowing rivers and streams leading

[1] According to Williamson it was formerly Mechisses.

to the bay, they decided that saw mills could be built, and an advantageous lumber trade with Boston engaged in.

The result was the beginning of the settlement of Machias the following year, and when Morris O'Brien went there from Scarboro with his six sons in 1765, and built saw mills, there were already about eighty inhabitants.

The occupations of these early settlers were generally laboring in the woods, on the drives and in the mills, and aboard the sloops and schooners, which freighted their lumber, shaved shingles, beaver skins, and other peltry to the Boston market, and returned with cargoes of provisions, merchandise, West India goods, and New England rum.

They lived quiet and peaceful lives, and their habits were simple and frugal. It is doubtful if there was in the entire domain of the Massachusetts Colony a community that would naturally have less incentive to go to war than this one. So far as known, only two of their number, Morris O'Brien and Benjamin Foster, had ever served in any army of the Colonial wars, these two having been at the Siege of Louisburg under General Pepperrell.[1]

Eastern Maine was then a vast, primeval wilderness, practically undisturbed by man's activities, and this little village was not connected with the outside world by highways, other than Indian trails, and had no way of communication with the inhabitants of their own Province or the Colonies, except over the trackless ocean.

Farming did not in the first instance receive great attention, as the men attended more to avocations arising from the logging and lumbering business, depending largely upon the Boston market for all kinds of food supplies.

But artisans and others went there, among whom was[2] Wooden Foster, the blacksmith, who, regardless of his Christian name, was to hammer out on his anvil crude forks for pitching hay and grain, which were fated to be later used as quite powerful weapons against British marines. Then from Kittery came John Underwood,[3] who engaged in trade.

Like all New England villages of that day, among the first buildings erected was a tavern and a house of worship. The meeting-house was a crude structure, long and narrow, an entrance at one end and a rude pulpit at the other end.

In 1772 they settled a minister, the Rev. James Lyon,[4] who, three years later, became chairman of the Machias Committee of Correspondence with the Colonial Government at Boston.

Thus was begun a community, whose citizens a few years later were to write a page in their country's history inscribed with deeds of heroism and valor.

One, whose name will be forever interwoven with the story of that stirring event, was Captain Ichabod Jones. In 1765 he was a ship-master and a person of some means, living in Boston. During that summer, he made a trip in a schooner

[1] Maine at Louisburg, by Rev. Henry S. Burrage, D. D. (1910), pp. 52-133.
[2] Smith's Centennial sketch of Machias.
[3] The Capture of the Margaretta by Geo. F. Talbot, Maine Historical Collections, Vol. 2, p. 5.
[4] Baxter Manuscripts, Vol. 14, p. 172.

eastward, for both pleasure and profit, stopping first at Mt. Desert. While in that port, he learned for the first time of the Machias Settlement and went immediately there, where he disposed of his cargo of goods to good advantage, loaded his vessel with lumber, and returned to Boston.

He made other voyages from Boston to Machias, and subsequently entered into a partnership with Benjamin Foster, and others, to build a mill for sawing lumber. This mill was on the west bank of the East Machias River. He, or the partnership, also ran a store in connection with the mill business, and all of the time he was in command of one or two vessels, engaged in the lumber trade between Machias and Boston.

He continued to do an increasing and thrifty business along these lines until 1774, when the English Parliament passed what is known in history as the "Boston Port Bill," which was an enactment that no more merchandise of any kind should be landed at or shipped from the wharves of Boston.

King George evidently labored under the delusion that the feeling of resistance to his tyranny was confined to the people of Boston, and that to crush it he had only to obstruct and demoralize their commerce.

Later on, he and his ministry learned that this was a stupid error, but not until after the history of the world had been changed.

This condition at the port of Boston necessarily interrupted Captain Jones' trade.

The spring of 1775 found him at Machias engaged in loading his two sloops, the *Unity* and the *Polly,* with lumber; but giving Captain Horton of the *Polly* orders to touch at Cape Ann and Salem for a market, and, failing there, to proceed to some port in Connecticut.

But, on arriving at Salem, Captain Horton found the whole coast in an uproar, and the inhabitants generally, especially in the large towns, in dire distress, and ready for almost anything except trade in lumber.

Captain Horton put into the port of Boston, where he met Captain Jones. These two then concluded to return at once to Machias with their families, their own household goods, and also a quantity of merchandise for the people there, who had become in a great measure destitute, by reason of the unsettled state of business during the past year.

At this juncture, Captain Jones was in rather a troublesome quandary. He realized the necessity of carrying supplies to Machias, and he had a great desire to take his family there as well.

He also feared the ire of the Machias patriots when they should discover him in their port under the protection of the English flag, for, in order to leave the harbor, he was obliged to have a permit from Admiral Graves.

This permit would be granted only upon condition that he return from Machias to Boston with lumber which the British desired to purchase for barracks for troops, and he must also submit to making the trip under the protection

of an armed schooner, the *Margaretta.* She was a cutter of about one hundred tons, carrying forty men, commanded by Midshipman Moore, and also equipped with four four-pounders, in the holds, several swivels mounted, and a "sufficient number of hand grenades" besides muskets, pistols, etc.[1] The object of this supervision of the cruise by the *Margaretta* was not only to see to it that Captain Jones carried out his agreement to return to Boston with the sloops laden with lumber, but also to protect him from trouble with the Machias people, if any should arise.

Most historians have assumed, and for what reason is not entirely clear, that Jones was a Loyalist, but evidence of this seems to be more traditional than otherwise.

At any rate before he left Boston he fortified himself with further protection, so far as Machias was concerned, by obtaining a certificate from the Selectmen of Boston, requesting the people there to permit him to return to Boston, as there were other distressed inhabitants who also desired to be transported to Machias.

It is a matter of some doubt whether the Boston authorities had any knowledge of the Captain's agreement with the British authorities to furnish them with lumber or, on the other hand, whether the Admiral realized that he was in league with the Selectmen to do them favors in consideration of their certificate of protection.

If he dissembled with the two opposing forces, as seems quite probable, the troubles which such deception brought down upon his head were sufficient punishment for the wrong doing.

Be that as it may, however, the two sloops convoyed by the armed *Margaretta,* flying the British flag, sailed into Machias harbor June 2, 1775.[2]

A lumbering community labors with much energy at certain seasons, but at other times there is enforced idleness. At this time the drives of logs had all come down the rivers and were safely in the booms. The small crops of the farmers had been planted, and the lumbering mills were not running as usual, for political troubles at Boston had paralyzed the lumber trade. It was a bright and tranquil June day when the fragrance of broad meadows and pine woods filled the air, and the birds sang sweet and joyous notes, and waters of river and sea were still, and all nature rejoiced, as nature always does on glorious June days.

For some time past the inhabitants had been lounging around the shores and wharves, waiting and watching for the return of Captain Jones' sloops with the much needed provisions.

On the afternoon of that day practically all of the inhabitants of this little hamlet were gathered there, some sitting upon fallen pine trees, which had once stood as majestic sentinels along the river banks, gazing afar for the welcome sails.

Just as the sun was receding in the western horizon, and the skies were golden,

[1] Williamson.
[2] Smith's Cen. Sketch, p. 38.

and the waters around were tinted with hues of gold, an old sea-faring man, whose anxiety had led him farther down towards the bay, shouted, "A sail! a sail!" and then all was excitement.

Captain Jones was returning and the stores he was bringing would carry joy to every household, and besides they would also soon learn how fared their brother patriots in far away Massachusetts.

Their feelings of mingled fear, alarm, and consternation may be imagined when they discovered that their friend of the seas, whose coming they had for days awaited with anxious hearts, was escorted by a British war vessel, flying the hated British flag.

At precisely what time the people of Machias were first apprised of the Battle of Lexington is not well settled. Williamson is silent on this point, but Smith says: "The news of the battle reached Machias very soon after its occurrence." Sherman,[1] who frequently quotes from Smith's account of it, asserts that "It was not many days after the engagements at Lexington and Concord that the officials of Machias received the Proclamation of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts," informing them of the fact.

Joseph Wheaton, who was a participator in the capture of the *Margaretta,* in a letter to Gideon O'Brien, under date of April 23, 1818, says:[2] "Before the battle of Concord, April 19, 1775, the *Margaretta,* schooner, Captain Moore, sailed from Boston and came to Machias to convoy two sloops owned by Ichabod Jones with lumber for Boston, and for the use of the British Government. While those vessels were loading, there came to Machias a vessel and brought the news of the battle of Concord, and communicated it to the people on a Saturday evening."

According to Drisko,[3] "One day in May," a meeting was held in the east room of the old Burnham Tavern, at which Morris O'Brien and his sons, Benjamin Foster, and Josiah Weston were among those who were present, when it was decided to call a town meeting to see if the inhabitants would vote to raise a liberty pole. Presumably this would have occurred immediately upon receiving the news. Yet Talbot, who was a very accurate historian, apparently believes that their first intelligence of the Battle of Lexington came from Captain Horton of the *Polly* some time after he and Captain Jones arrived with their sloops.[4]

It is plain that the discreet Captain Jones fully appreciated the difficulties of his situation, and that he faced danger which ever horn of the dilemma he might grasp. Naturally the presence of the armed vessel aroused the suspicion of the people, and whether they had knowledge that the Massachusetts patriots had begun a revolution before Captain Horton informed them, or not, they certainly knew it then, and the fire of revolt was kindling in their breasts.

His first move to secure the right to reload his vessel and engage in his cus-

[1] Life of Captain Jeremiah O'Brien, by Rev. Andrew M. Sherman (1902), p. 271.
[2] Maine Historical Collection, Series 2, Vol. 2, p. 109.
[3] Drisko's History of Machias, p. 34.
[4] The Capture of the Margaretta, by George F. Talbot, p. 2.

tomary trade was to exhibit the paper in his possession from the Selectmen of Boston, and request them to sign a written obligation allowing him to proceed with his trade as usual, to carry lumber back to Boston, and to protect him and his property at all events.[1]

Although they sadly needed the provisions in the vessels lying at their wharves, they hesitated about doing anything that could possibly be construed as a friendly act to the enemy.

The Captain being extremely cautious, and they wary and apprehensive, this attempt at a compromise failed, and then he applied to the authorities to call a town meeting to act upon the matter. This meeting was held the sixth day of June,[2] and there was a full attendance. After a somewhat stormy session, a vote was finally passed to allow Captain Jones to sell his goods and load his vessels with lumber.

Exactly what was the primal cause for the battle which ensued is somewhat uncertain. Smith appears to regard the reason for it as an apprehension by the citizens of Machias that the lumber, "then being loaded on Jones' sloops, was intended for the use of the British troops," and a determination on their part that they should never return to Boston with their cargoes.

But it must be remembered that these same persons, after due deliberation in open town meeting, had voted to permit this to be done. No one has ever questioned their integrity, and it is not easy to conceive of their passing such a vote and then immediately organizing a force to prevent this very agreement from being carried out. Neither has any writer proven that Captain Jones deceived them regarding his intentions as to the disposal of the lumber, and, on the contrary, there is no evidence that they had actual knowledge, when assembled in town meeting, that it was ultimately to go to the British troops, or that they understood the full import of the Boston Port Act.

The explanation given by Talbot seems to be the most reasonable of any: "But it is probable that the permission granted in the vote would have been carried out in good faith had not the Captain of the *Margaretta* unnecessarily provoked a quarrel with the inhabitants,"[3] in ordering them to take down their liberty pole. There is sufficient proof that some days, at least, before the battle the people of Machias had, whether by a vote of the town, or not, done what hundreds of other little communities throughout the Colonies had done, and were doing,—erected a "liberty pole."

Drisko[4] is very certain that it was accomplished by a vote in a town meeting, legally called. They selected a tall, straight, and handsome sapling pine tree, "leaving a tuft of verdure at the top, the best emblem they had at command of the flag they desired to fight for, live and die under." This tree of liberty was

[1] Baxter Manuscripts, Vol. 14, p. 280.
[2] Sherman, p. 31.
[3] The Capture of the Margaretta, p. 5.
[4] Drisko's History of Machias, p. 34.

planted amid the shouts of the assembled inhabitants, the discharge of musketry, and the sound of fife and drum. It was an occasion of much rejoicing, and around it the people "made solemn pledges to resist the mother country." When Captain Moore of the *Margaretta* learned of this and its significance, he ordered it to be taken down under the threat of firing upon the town.[1] This was the last straw. All of their suspicions that Captain Jones had been equivocal in his dealings with them, all of their suppressed indignation and slumbering wrath at the presence of the *Margaretta* in their port, were enkindled anew. It was a crisis in the affairs of the Machias patriots. And yet they were deliberate enough to submit to the calling of another town meeting to see if the town would vote to remove the offensive pole, and after the town had voted unanimously in the negative, they even then agreed with Captain Moore through the mediation of one Stephen Jones, a nephew of Captain Jones, to await the action of another meeting, which was duly called. It can be easily understood that it was essentially for the interest of Captain Jones to maintain peace between the belligerent Moore and the aroused and infuriated citizens, and his nephew, who was himself a storekeeper, and interested with his uncle in business, was exerting all of his efforts towards this end, and it seems that he had influence enough with Moore to dissuade him from attacking the town until after a second town meeting.

But the day for temporizing had passed. In 1775, John Adams was a young school-teacher in Connecticut. In his day, the first steps in the career of a great man was to keep a diary of the thoughts, impressions, opinions, and doings of himself, his neighbors, and his friends. So John kept one, and this is one of his entries: "In another century all Europe will not be able to subdue us. The only way to keep us from setting up for ourselves is to subdue us."

The determination to rebel against the innumerable acts of the Crown designed to destroy Colonial liberty permeated every nook and corner of the Province of Maine, and the sentiments so tersely expressed by young Adams grew and expanded everywhere.

It could not have been otherwise than that this spirit of independence and these longings for freedom should also prevail in this remote and ocean-bound hamlet. After the second town meeting was called and before it could be assembled, the situation had become acute. It is possible that Captain Jones had been entirely frank with the people, that they knew that he had obligated himself to sell his lumber to the British authorities, and that the seriousness of their open or tacit acquiescence in such a performance was becoming vivid to them; or it may be that they did not know of it with certainty, as appears probable from the second letter[2] of the Machias Committee to the Boston authorities, and so their misgivings regarding their acts in town meetings, and their fears that any lumber carried from their port to Boston by Captain Jones, under escort of an armed vessel of

[1] The Capture of the Margaretta, p. 5.
[2] Baxter Manuscripts, Vol. 14, p. 284.

the British Navy, would be thus disposed of as a matter of course, were intensified. It is now impossible to determine exactly what were the circumstances; but one thing is certain, that there was such a final culmination of their suspicions, fears, and apprehensions, that it resulted in the formation of a plan to prevent the return of the sloops to Boston laden with lumber.

As we have seen, there were two Machias men, Morris O'Brien and Benjamin Foster, who had seen service in the army at the Siege of Louisburg, and both were citizens of substance and influence. To these two the people looked for counsel and guidance. It is quite evident that some took a more conservative view of the matter, and in the first instance advised waiting until the ensuing town meeting, and allow the people to reverse their action of the former meeting, if they would. Benjamin Foster, and Morris O'Brien and his sons, and some others, favored taking possession of the partly laden sloops of Captain Jones and making prisoners of the officers and men, and, while their counsels were divided, Foster and the O'Briens finally prevailed. It is said that Foster, weary of the debate, crossed a stream known as the "O'Brien Brook,"[1] near which they were standing, and called out to all who favored the capture of the *Margaretta* and the two sloops to follow him, and that in a few moments every man stood by his side.

A plan of attack, a sort of impromptu campaign, was immediately agreed upon. This was on Sunday, June eleventh, 1775. It was known that the English officers would attend the religious services of good Parson Lyon in the meeting-house that morning, and it was decided to surround the church and seize them during the services. Under this arrangement a part of the company remained with Foster outside to do this, when the critical moment should arrive, the rest dispersing to attend services in the meeting-house as usual.

They had, before the meeting opened, quietly secreted their arms in the building,[2] John O'Brien hiding his musket under a board and taking his seat on a bench directly behind Captain Moore, ready to seize him at the first alarm. This well-prepared scheme would undoubtedly have been successful if they had taken the negroes of the community, or at least one of them, into their confidence.

London Atus was a colored man, the body-servant of Parson Lyon, and while the parson himself, and about every other member of the congregation except the intended victims themselves, had, in all probability, knowledge or a well-grounded suspicion of what was afoot, Atus was entirely innocent of the dynamic atmosphere about him. From his place in a negro pew he could see armed men—Foster's band[3]—crossing a foot-bridge that connected two islands near the falls, and coming towards the meeting-house. He gave an outcry and leaped from the window, wild with excitement. This broke up the meeting, and the officers, believing that an attempt was being made to entrap them, followed the example of the negro and made their escape.

[1] Sherman, p. 41.
[2] Baxter Manuscripts, Vol. 14, p. 281.
[3] The Capture of the Margaretta, Talbot, p. 8.

They hastened to their vessel, and by the time Foster's force reached the meeting-house they were aboard their vessel and weighing anchor, and Jones, who was to have been made a prisoner, fled to the woods, where he remained secreted for several days. O'Brien and Foster had previously to this Sunday morning "secretly invited"[1] the people of Mispecka and Pleasant River, being neighboring plantations, to join them, and they had arrived and were in the woods near at hand, ready to engage in the capture of the officers. When Captain Moore and his associates escaped, it was quite a large number of people, greatly excited, who followed them down to the banks of the river, keeping up an harassing musketry fire, which was returned by occasional shots at the populace from the cutter, but at too long range to be dangerous to either side.

They then resolved to seize Jones' sloops and pursue the cutter. One of these, the *Polly,* was not in available condition, but they took possession of the *Unity,* Jones' other sloop, and during the remainder of Sunday and that night made preparations for the attack. They sent scouts to the East River village and neighboring plantations for volunteers, arms, and ammunition.

A messenger was dispatched to Chandler's River[2] to procure powder and ball, and, as the men of that settlement were all absent at Machias, two girls, Hannah and Rebecca Weston, nineteen and seventeen years old, procured forty pounds of powder and balls and brought them to Machias, a distance of twenty miles through the woods, following a line of blazed or "spotted" trees, but did not arrive there until after the battle was over.

In the early dawn of the following morning (June 2), the expedition started down the river in pursuit of the *Margaretta.* Foster had taken a schooner, the *Falmouth Packet,* at East River with a squad of men, intending to join in the expedition, but his vessel unfortunately became disabled and he was unable to accompany the *Unity* and was not at the engagement. The crew of the *Unity,* so far as known, numbered about forty, and only half of these had muskets, with only about three rounds of ammunition. The rest armed themselves with pitchforks,[3] narrow and broad axes, heavy wooden clubs, mauls, etc. For provisions they had "a small bag of bread, a few pieces of pork and a barrel of water."

So sudden and impulsive had this undertaking been, that at first it was only an unorganized mob, but, while sailing down the river with a favoring wind, they were more contemplative, and completed their plans by choosing Jeremiah O'Brien as captain, and Edmund Stevens, lieutenant; and, understanding that they had no powder to waste, they decided to bear down on the enemy's ship, board her, and decide the contest at once.

In all the history of war, on land or sea, it is doubtful if there is a record of any adventure which exceeds this one for dauntless courage and a bold defiance of death.

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[1] Baxter Manuscripts, p. 281.
[2] Talbott, p. 14.
[3] John O'Brien's Account, Maine Historical Collections, Vol. 2, p. 242.

Sometime, someone may undertake the task of compiling in one work how much this American Nation owes the Sons of Ireland. Their name is legion and their valiant deeds are inscribed on every page of our country's history. That fair "Emerald Isle," ever suffering from the blight of oppression, has given us gallant heroes, brave and worthy, in our every war from the village green of Lexington to the tranquil waters of Manila Bay. And whenever that grand record is made up no name will receive more honorable mention than he, who, in the rays of the rising sun of that bright June morning, on the waters of Machias River, was made commander of this perilous and desperate expedition. Here were forty undisciplined men in chase of a vessel, well armed and equipped with trained marines, without thought of peril or danger.

One writer[1] has said that the *Unity* was "quickly seized and unloaded of her lumber, and equipped for battle," but this is doubtless an inaccuracy. It is more probable that, as stated by another author,[2] the lumber was allowed to remain and was utilized by the men for breastworks for protection from the enemy's fire.

The *Unity* was well into the Bay when the *Margaretta* was first sighted off Round Island, and she, being the more rapid sailer, was soon along her side. The helmsman of the *Margaretta,* who was Captain Robert Avery, had fallen from a shot fired by an old moose hunter on board the *Unity,* by the name of Knight, and an immediate volley of musketry from her deck astonished and demoralized the enemy. The bowsprit of the *Unity* plunged into her main-sail, holding the two vessels together for a short time. While they were in this position, one of the O'Brien brothers, John, sprang upon the *Margaretta's* deck, but the vessels suddenly parted, carrying the audacious John alone on board the British vessel. It is said that seven of her crew instantly aimed and fired muskets at him, but he remained unscatched; they then charged upon him with their bayonets and again he escaped by plunging overboard, and, amidst a storm of bullets from the enemy, regained his own vessel.

Captain O'Brien then ordered his sloop along side of the *Margaretta.* Twenty of his crew were selected to board her armed with pitchforks,[3] and a hand-to-hand conflict on her deck resulted in the surrender of the *Margaretta* to the Americans, and Jeremiah O'Brien hauled down the British ensign flying at her mast-head.

Before the battle, an American coaster, with Captain Robert Avery as skipper, was lying in Holmes Bay. Captain Avery was forcibly seized by Captain Moore and taken on board the cutter to act as pilot out of the river, and was killed in the first of the encounter, as we have seen. Captain Moore also received a mortal wound and died shortly after. Several of his men were wounded, but the exact number is not known. Two of the Americans, John McNeil and James Coolbroth, were killed. It is also known that of their number, three, John Berry, Isaac Taft, and James Cole, were wounded.

[1] Lieut. Edward Wilson, very late of the U. S. Navy, quoted by Representative Wiley of Alabama in a speech in the Congress, February 16, 1904.
[2] Sherman, p. 57.
[3] Maine Historical Collections, Vol. 2, p. 242.

The crew of the *Unity,* as near as can be ascertained, were as follows:

Jeremiah O'Brien, Captain	Abial Sprague
William O'Brien	Edmund Stevens, Lieutenant
Dennis O'Brien	John O'Brien
Joseph O'Brien	Gideon O'Brien
Samuel Watts	Josiah Weston
John Stule	Joel Whitney
John Drisko, Jr.	John Merritt
Judah Chandler	Isaac Taft
John Berry	James Coolbroth
James Cole	Nathaniel Crediford
Richard McNeil	Joseph Wheaton
John Hall	John Scott
Jesse Scott	Joseph Libbee
Wallace Fenalson	Simeon Brown
Ezekiel Foster	Beriah Rice
Joseph Clifford	Samuel Whitney
Jonathan Brown	Elias Hoit
Josiah Libbee	Seth Norton
Joseph Getchell	Obediah Hill
James Sprague	Daniel Meservey
James N. Shannon	John Stule, Jr.
Benjamin Foss	Nathaniel Ferderson
Wm. McNeil	John Mitchell
Richard Earle	William Mackelson
(Body servant of Jeremiah O'Brien)	John Thomas
Jonathan Knight	Joseph Getchell, Jr.
David Prescott	Ebenezer Beal
John Bohanan	Thomas Bewel

Referring again to the assumption of some writers that Captain Jones was a Tory, it is evident that it has arisen from the second letter to Rev. James Lyon, Chairman of the Machias Committee of Correspondence, to Boston, July 7, 1775, in which he says: "We have discovered, upon examining the papers, that both Captain Jones' sloops were in the King's Service."

We have already seen that, in order to obtain a permit from Admiral Graves to leave the port of Boston, he had agreed to return to Boston with lumber to be sold to the English. It is probable that evidence of this was found, but it would not seem to be sufficient grounds for the assertion that he was in the "King's Service," to any further extent than his intention to carry out that transaction. Even this may cast some reflection upon his patriotism, but it may be remembered in his favor that the pressing need of the Machias citizens for provisions, and the safety of his own family, necessarily concerned and influenced him when he entered

upon that agreement. It is possible that Lyon himself might have been unduly exercised over the matter, and magnified it more than it deserved. Talbott described this person as "The able, highly educated and eccentric Parson Lyon."

At about sunset of the same day the *Unity* returned, proudly sailing up the bay and river to Machias Village, with her valuable prize, reaching the wharf amid the tumultuous cheering and shouting of the people. They made a hero of Captain Jeremiah O'Brien, as he certainly deserved for his most brilliant achievement, and the rejoicing continued until long past midnight.

Morris O'Brien was born in the city of Dublin, Ireland, in the year 1715, and claimed to have descended from one of the old Irish Kings of that name. In his home on the banks of the Machias there was a portrait representing his ancient ancestor, Brian Borumha. In early life he learned the tailor's trade, and about 1738 sailed for America, landing in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. For a while he lived in Kittery, Maine. From Kittery he moved to Scarboro, and thence to Machias, where he lived until his death, June 4, 1799. His descendants had a prominent and enviable position in the early history of the State of Maine. One of them, Honorable Jeremiah O'Brien, represented Maine in the National House of Representatives in the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, Twentieth, and Twenty-first Congress.[1]

The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, June 26, 1775, passed a Resolution, extending the thanks of the Congress to Captain Jeremiah O'Brien and Captain Benjamin Foster "and the other brave men under their command for their courage and good conduct in taking one of the tenders belonging to our enemies and two sloops belonging to Ichabod Jones."[2] The Resolution further provided that the tender and sloops should remain in the custody and under the command of O'Brien and Foster, to be used by them for the "publick's advantage" and subject to the orders of the Congress.

Naturally, the news of O'Brien's brilliant victory was heralded throughout the land, and it had a great effect in stimulating the Colonists everywhere to emulate his example.

The subsequent career of Jeremiah O'Brien was a notable one. The British fitted out two armed schooners at Halifax for the purpose of re-taking the *Margaretta,* the *Diligence,* and the *Tapnaquish.* O'Brien and Foster, however, were again successful, and the battle, July 12, 1775, resulted in their capturing both vessels and taking their crews prisoners.

In the following September the Provincial Congress gave him command of two cruisers, the *Machias Liberty* and the *Diligent,* which were known as the "Flying Squadron," and he served in this capacity, doing gallant service, until October, 1776. A little later, he had command of the privateers *Cyrus, Little Vincent,* and *Tiger,* which continued until 1779, when he returned to his home in

[1] I am indebted to one of his descendants, Mrs. Josephine O'Brien Campbell of Cherryfield, Maine, for courtesies and assistance in compiling the data herein.
[2] Baxter Manuscripts, Vol. 14, p. 287.

Machias and for several months served as Captain of a company of soldiers, known as the Machias Rangers, which served under Colonel John Allen in protecting the settlements from unfriendly Indians.

During the year 1780 two of his brothers, John O'Brien and Joseph O'Brien, built at Newburyport, Massachusetts, a vessel which was fitted out as a privateer. She was named the *Hannibal,* and John O'Brien was her commander in her first cruise. John O'Brien, not desiring to serve longer, petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts to appoint Jeremiah O'Brien commander, which was done. On this cruise the fortunes of war turned against Captain O'Brien, and while off the coast of New York the *Hannibal* fell in with a fleet of British merchantmen under convoy of several British frigates. Captain O'Brien, after a futile attempt to retreat, was obliged to surrender. He, with the other officers and crew of the Hannibal, was incarcerated on board the prison-ship, *Jersey.* At the end of six months all of the other prisoners were exchanged, but he was transported to Plymouth, England, and placed in the Mill Prison, where he remained for about eighteen months, when he succeeded in making his escape. He had cultivated the acquaintance of a French washerwoman, employed about the prison, who, with the help of her husband, rendered him valuable assistance. He crossed the English Channel to France in a frail row-boat.

The French people where he landed, upon learning who he was, were friendly and loaned him sufficient money to enable him to take voyage to New York, and he finally reached his home in Machias during the autumn of 1782.

Beckwith.

ARMS OF BECKWITH QUARTERED WITH HESLERTON
An Heiress of Beckwith, on her Marriage in 1226, Bestowed her Name on her Husband, Sir Hugo Malebisse. They Were Ancestors of a Number of Southern Families, among them the Carys and the Ritchies

Pre-Revolutionary Sentiment In England

Discussion at a Political Club in England in 1770, Bearing on the Conditions Which Caused Our War For Independence & Extracts from these Debates Copied for The Journal of American History from an English Periodical of the Eighteenth Century, Called The London Magazine

BY

CARLOS PARSONS DARLING

Compiler of "The History and Genealogy of the Darling Family in America"

ON THE fifth of March, 1770, the subject of the American Colonies engaged the attention of a Political Club in England, whose debate was recorded in the London Magazine of May, 1770. These speeches are truly exemplary of the great trouble that led up to the War of the Revolution—"Taxation without Representation."

The debate begins with the following speech by "Mutius Scaevola."

"Mr. President: Among the number of taxes which have given umbrage to the North Americans, the act which lays a duty on paper, painters' colours, glass and tea, has given birth to such dangerous combinations beyond the Atlantic, and created so much dissatisfaction among the merchants trading from the mother country to the continental colonies, that I conceive it very proper for this assembly to give the matter a serious consideration; especially, Sir, as so many articles, the manufacturies of Great Britain, are, by the act in question, subject to taxation, that it must astonish every reasonable man, to think how so preposterous a law could originally obtain existence from a British legislature. I know, Sir, at the present period, how extremely unacceptable to many gentlemen, any intended favour to America will be; but such gentlemen in the vehemence of resentment against their fellow subjects, beyond the Atlantic, must not forget the prosperity of this kingdom, and of any tax, disagreeable to the Americans, should be found really injurious to ourselves. I hope they will not imitate the man in the fable, and consent to lose a single eye merely that their neighbors may be wholly deprived of sight.

"With regard to the act I have mentioned, Sir, as far as it relates to the duty upon tea, I do not see that the Americans have any mighty reason to find fault; because when that was laid another was taken off which obliged them to pay near

a shilling in the pound upon an average, where as the present only imposes three pence; therefore as America, in this article, feels an ease of nine pence per pound, she cannot properly accuse us of oppression, more especially as every session has been productive of material advantages to her in bounties, free ports, or other considerable indulgences.

"At the conclusion of the last sessions, I concurred in opinion with the rest of his Majesty's ministers relative to the expediency of writing circular letters to the American Governors, promising to repeal upon commercial principles, such parts of the act as was disagreeable to the people; and in this measure, concurred from a hope that kindness would recall the colonies to their former obedience, and prove a happy means of removing contention without lessening in the least the proper dignity of government. Indeed I heartily wished to repeal the whole of the law, from this conciliating principle, if there had been a possibility of repealing it without giving up that just right which I shall ever wish the mother country to possess, the right of taxing the Americans. But I am sorry, heartily sorry, to say that the colonists, so far from deserving additional instances of tenderness, did not deserve the instance then shown, for their resolutions became more violent than ever; their associations instead of supplicating, proceeded to dictate, and grew at last to such a meridian of temerity, that administration could not, for its own credit, go as far as it might incline to gratify their expectations; and I am perfectly satisfied that was the tax now under consideration, to be this moment wholly abolished, it would not either excite their gratitude, or re-establish their tranquility; they would set the abolition down, not to the goodness, but to the fears of the mother country, and upon a supposition that we were to be terrified into any concession, they would make fresh demands, and rise in their turbulence, instead of returning to their duty. Experience, fatal experience, Mr. President, has sufficiently proved the truth of this conjecture. We repealed the stamp act to comply with their desires, and what has been the consequence? Has the repeal taught them obedience, has our lenity inspired them with moderation? No, Sir, that very lenity has encouraged them to insult our authority, to dispute our rights, and to aim at independent government. What is therefore to be done? Shall we, while they now deny our legal power to tax them, acquiesce ourselves in the argument of illegality, and give up that power? Shall we betray ourselves out of compliment to them, and through a wish of rendering more than justice to America, resign the controlling supremacy of England? God forbid. The properest time to exert our right of taxation is, when the right is refused. The properest time for making resistance is when we are attacked. To temporize is to yield, and the authority of the mother country now unsupported, is, in reality, relinquished forever.

"I am very well aware, Mr. President, of the great stress which gentlemen both within and without doors, lay upon the advantages of our traffic with America, and the very terrifying colours in which the least interruption of their cus-

tomary intercourse is held up to the kingdom. But, Sir, I have the best reasons for thinking that the American associations not to buy British goods, must be speedily self-destroyed; because the Americans, to distress us, will not injure themselves, because they are already weary of giving an advanced price for commodities they are obliged to purchase, and because, after all the hardships which they say their commerce groans under, it is still obviously their interest not to commence manufacturers. It is true indeed our exports to America have of late fallen off very much; in the year 1768 they amounted to £2,378,000. In 1769 they only amounted to £1,634,000. Yet, Sir, this disproportion is not to alarm us, for in 1768, expecting the non-importation which ensued, they purchased a double quantity of goods, and we may easily see how disagreeable this non-importation scheme is to the generality of the people, from the constant necessity its abettors are under of enforcing it by fraud, nay of even supporting it by blood. For these reasons, Mr. President, I am for retaining our right of taxing America, but of giving it every relief that may be consistent with the welfare of the mother country; and for these reasons I move for leave to bring in a bill to repeal so much of the present tax as related to glass, painters' colours, and paper."

"Mutius Scaevola," concluding here, "Paulus Prisquinius" replied to this effect.

"Mr. President, Sir:

"The right honourable member who spoke last urges the expediency of his motion, not so much on account of the tendency which it may have, either to quiet or serve the people of America, but on account of its tendency to please the merchants of the mother country. Perhaps at this time it may be unpopular to rise in defence of the poor Americans, and ineffectual to plead their cause before that assembly, which is the source of all their grievances, and is an actual party in the dispute, at the very moment it is to exercise the power of a judge.

"Yet, Sir, it cannot be either unpopular or unnecessary for me to stand up and advocate for the interests of Great Britain, however the unfortunate colonists are to be neglected, and therefore I rise not only to support, but to extend the noble lord's motion, to extend it upon his own principle, for the immediate welfare, the immediate preservation of this kingdom.

"Whenever taxes are laid by this assembly, Mr. President, it is always with the greatest caution, the greatest circumspection, even where the constitutional exercise of the power is universally acknowledged, and we are always desirous of levying the public money in that particular mode which is most agreeable to the people; we do not study to mortify this subject while we call upon him for his money; but endeavour on the contrary to reconcile his mind to the load, which there is an absolute necessity of bearing.

"This, Mr. President, is constantly the case, where the right of taxation is universally allowed constitutional; but surely where the constitutional right is disputed, where we ourselves are divided upon it, it is strange, it is dangerous, to

edge our demands with insult, and to be as deliberately aggravating in the manner, as we may be unjustifiably peremptory in the means.

"Whether we have or have not a discretionary right of taxing the Americans, is with me less a question than the expediency of exercising the right at a period when the whole continent of America is in flames; the noble lord who spoke before me, seems to think lightly of the colony associations, not to purchase British manufactures, and insinuates that they are far from being agreeable to the generality of the people; to me, however, these associations appear very formidable, and if they are generally disagreeable, why are they submitted to so implicitly? Why are our ships terrified from carrying over a single article prohibited, and why, if the abettors of the non-importation are merely a set of turbulent or insignificant people, I say why are they able thus to give law through a vast empire, in which Great Britain herself, with all her force, has not been able to exact obedience? The answer is obvious—the non-importation measure is universally approved; and the Americans, if they are to be shackled are at least determined to disturb us with the rattling of their chains.

"That the Americans have a taste, a wish, a passion for our manufactures, I acknowledge, and I will also acknowledge, that the vanity of many may be mortified, by the want of our European luxuries; but still their strongest passion is their love of freedom, and they will suffer any inconvenience in the cause of their country; nay, every inconvenience now resulting from the non-importation measures, gratifies their pride, the coarsest dowlas they can make becomes respectable when worn from principles of public virtue, and the meanest garb becomes an object of desire, where it is sure of meeting general approbation. Let us not therefore suppose that the Americans will give up their point—arts and manufactures are much more likely to flourish among them than their present spirit is likely to abate. While we contend therefore for a right of taxing them, we are giving up the substance for the shadow; we are exchanging happiness for pride, and losing every valuable authority over them, from an absurd apprehension that hereafter it may be lost. At this moment, Sir, there are orders for goods to above a million sterling from America, but on the express, the positive condition that the tax under consideration is totally repealed; shall we refuse those orders, and while we are angry that the Americans will not deal with us, shall we send their money back? Shall we destroy our own commerce out of resentment to them, and spurn the wealth which they spontaneously press upon us, because we cannot take a trifling sum against their inclinations? If we have no regard for America, Sir, let us at least respect the mother country; it may be disagreeable for the present to waive the right of taxing America, yet it must be infinitely more disagreeable to support that right by force of arms. *In a dispute of arms with America, there is no doubt of our superiority, but who do we conquer? Ourselves.* Everything that injures the colonies, is injurious to Great Britain, and we commit a kind of political suicide when we endeavor to crush them into obedience.

"In fact, Sir, as there is always more to gain from the commerce than the taxation of the Americans, from their affection than their fear, I hope the right of taxing them in this country will never be agitated more. The argument is fatal, it can never be serviceable to either, and must destroy the happiness of both. Let me, therefore, in behalf of this kingdom, request an extension of the motion before the chair to a repeal of the duty upon teas—though not a British manufacture it may partly be considered as a British commodity and the duty must throw an amazing share of the trade into the hands of the Dutch, who are constantly ready to watch for a market, and will smuggle large quantities of that article into America, when by being duty-free they can do it at a profit £25 per cent. I am therefore for an unlimited repeal of the whole tax and I move that words, 'and on teas' may be added to the articles intended to be exonerated by the motion.' "

"Paulus Prisquinius" ended here and "Valarius Vigil" delivered himself thus upon the subject.

"Mr. President, Sir:

"Whenever the affairs of America are agitated in this assembly, I am in some measure called upon to speak, because the principal confusions of that country are supposed to originate with me. I can, however, safely aver that if the stamp act was injudicious in the mode, it was at least salutary in the intention, and meant for the common good both of the mother country and colonies. In laying this tax, Sir, I imagined that every part of the British empire was bound to furnish its portion for the general prosperity and I could not see any violation committed upon the American freedom, by an immediate tax upon the property of the colonists, when they cheerfully submitted to our laws which regulated the acquisition of that proprty. Besides this, to use the chief argument of the Americans, and to admit that the happiness of this country is inseparably connected with the welfare of the colonies, I considered that they had the best of all securities for our never exercising the right of taxation improperly, the security of our own interest; this was to be relied on, even if our justice was to be questioned, and though we might be wanting in equity to them, it could not be expected that we should be deficient in consideration for ourselves.

"The administration succeeding that in which I had the honour to be employed proceeded also upon a system though totally the opposite of mine, and thought that by complying with the wishes of the Americans they would advance both the peace and prosperity of the two countries; they therefore restored matters to the state in which they stood before the existence of the stamp act, but at the same time preserved the dignity of this house, by a law positively declaring our right to tax America. Since that administration, government has acted wholly without plan, without system, with regard to the colonies. One set of ministers has instituted a tax diametrically repugnant to the principles of commerce, and yet of no consequence to the kingdom for it does not bring in £16,000 a year. This has throwed America into greater ferment than ever, and as the ministers now

are proceeding without system, I cannot on the one hand suppose that a partial repeal of the present tax will reduce the colonies to temper, nor on the other by forcing government into a total repeal, can I suppose we have sufficiently provided for the dignity of the nation. I shall not therefore give my voice upon the present question."

"Titus Agrippa" spoke next.

"Mr. President, Sir:

"I shall trouble you with very few words on this debate, for I think it is a question that can not admit of much altercation in a dispassionate assembly. I have always considered it the birthright of every Englishman, Sir, to have a voice in framing every law by which he himself is to be taxed, and I cannot consider a fellow-subject in America less entitled to this inestimable privilege, than a fellow-subject in England. In reality, Sir, if we had found the American slaves, reason and humanity called loudly upon us for their instant emancipation.

"Our constitution knows nothing of oppression, it abhors tyranny, it is founded upon the noblest principles of benevolence, and is calculated to guard the universal independency of the people. This being the case, Sir, I considered the stamp act, I consider the present tax as an illegal burden placed upon the shoulders of the Americans. They are not even virtually represented amongst us, and when we suspected their loyalty, without cause, they doubted of our affections, of our equity, with reason. I am therefore for the entire repeal. I cannot think it derogates from our honour to do what is evidently right, nor can I think the Americans have forfeited their claim to justice, because they have spiritedly exerted themselves to obtain it from the mother country."

Here "Titus Agrippa" ended, and was succeeded in the debate by "Caius Collatinus."

"Mr. President, Sir:

"It amazes me not a little to find administration so perversely, so inflexibly persisting in error on every occasion; it is surprising, to use an expression of Dryden's, 'That they never deviate into sense,' nor stumble upon propriety by downright accident. The only reason, Sir, why they refuse the total repeal of the present tax, is to preserve the preamble, because it maintains the right of taxing Americans. But surely as there is a positive law, declaratory of the right, and as there is even another tax at this moment in force, exercising the right, there can be no just reason for not indulging the Americans with the motion as amended before the chair. I am the more earnest for an entire repeal, Sir, because a partial one, instead of producing any benefit to the mother country, will be a real grievance, a certain expense to ourselves, as well as a source of perpetual discontent to the colonies; for by removing the duties upon painters' colours, paper and glass, while we continue the trifling tax upon teas, we keep up with the whole establishment of the custom houses in America, with their long, their hydra-headed trains of dependents, and yet cut off the very channels through which their voracious appe-

tites are to be glutted. In fact the tea duty will by no means answer the charge of collecting it, and the deficiencies must naturally be made up from the coffers of the kingdom; so that the wise measure of a partial appeal is to plunder ourselves, while it is to oppress our fellow subjects, and all for the mere purpose of preserving a preamble which is utterly unnecessary. For shame, Mr. President, let us dismiss this pitiful preamble tax, and let us make the repeal total, unless our ministers would convince us that a provision for their custom-house instruments beyond the Atlantic is the only motive for this shameless profusion of the public treasure."

"Caius Collatinus" was followed by "Lucius Pertinax" to this effect.

"Mr. President, Sir:

"I am for the whole repeal of the law, which now engages the attention of the house, and this for a reason which has not yet been mentioned, as well as for several reasons that have been forcibly urged in favour of the Americans. Sir, this assembly plighted its faith to the East-India Company, to remove the duty of 25 per cent. from teas, in order that the company might be enabled to sell their teas upon terms equally low with the Dutch, whose moderation in price constantly obtained a preference at every market; we indeed took off the 25 per cent. accordingly, but what we did with one hand we undid with the other. We laid a fresh duty on the commodity, and laid this duty moreover in such a manner that it must act as an absolute prohibition to the sale of their teas through the whole extensive continent of English-America, where they were in general estimation. To prove this assertion, Sir, suffer me to inform the house that in the year 1768 the teas sent to America amounted to no less than £132,000, whereas in 1769 they amounted to no more than £44,000 and probably this year (1770) they will not exceed a quarter of that sum, as the proceedings of this country are hourly becoming more and more repugnant to the minds of the colonies, and as agreements have been lately entered into for the absolute disuse of the article; in justice therefore to the East India Company, who have so considerable a stake in the national welfare, and pay so liberally to the support of government, we ought to discharge our promise, with the most punctual fidelity. The discontinuance of the 25 per cent. tax on their teas is not a discharge of our promise; our promise is not discharged unless we enable them to sell upon terms as reasonable as the Dutch, and unless we liberate their trade in this commodity instead of loading it with new embarrassment. With regard to the propriety of repealing the law before us, from principles of justice to the colonies, and utility to the mother country, I shall say nothing, as this has been fully proved by gentlemen of much greater abilities in the course of the present debate. I will only add that a speedy rupture between England and its old enemies is far from improbable, administration would act wisely in reconciling our domestic divisions, and regaining the confidence of America before an event of that nature happens to render their situation additionally perplexing. National concerns should now engross their attention in

the rooms of private resentments, and they should seriously advert to the interests of a great empire, instead of pursuing the blessed example of Domitian and hourly torturing flies."

Such were the arguments on this remarkable question. Several gentlemen in office opposed the motion even as it originally stood, but as they chiefly dwelt upon the obstinacy of America and threw no light upon the subject, we have omitted them and think it is only necessary to add that the amendment was rejected by 204 against 142.

THE LANDING OF COLUMBUS. SCENE IN THE TAUNTON PAGEANT

CONVERSION OF THE NATIVES

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, AS REPRESENTED IN THE TAUNTON PAGEANT

INDIANS AT HOME

THE LANDING OF THE MAYFLOWER

433.

435′

ELDER BREWSTER OFFERING THANKS TO GOD FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE MAYFLOWER PILGRIMS

THE PILGRIMS

THE INDIAN PRINCESS

THE FIRST "LIBERTY AND UNION" FLAG

443.

ELIZABETH POLE BUYS TAUNTON WITH A PECK OF BEANS

QUEEN CHARLOTTE, KING GEORGE, AND BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

447.

FATHER TIME AND THE FAIRIES

A Pageant of Patriotism

An Elaborate and Significant Presentation of Historical Scenes on the Shores of Sabbatia Lake, in Taunton, Massachusetts, Recently & A Novel Method of Imparting American Ideals and Inspiring Love of Our Country and Its History in the Newer Element of Our Population

BY

RALPH DAVOL

Taunton, Massachusetts

Who Wrote the Book of the Pageant, Financed the Production, and Was General Manager

THE accompanying reproductions from photographs show some of the important historical scenes of the magnificent Pageant of Patriotism given in Taunton, Massachusetts, recently. The pageant was a thing unique in America and bustled with patriotism so that the scenes were of national interest. The object was to Americanize the varied nationalities of our modern population by portraying the progress of American ideals so that all could understand them.

Taunton was a typical town of the Old Colony. The lands and waters of Cohannet were doubtless celebrated for the grandness of their forests and for an abundance of game. The banks of the Tetiquet, in its course to the waters of Narragansett, were favorite places of resort for the aborigines, and the trails of the Wampanoags led to the attractive lakes and shores of a delightful domain.

Edward Winslow, afterwards Governor of Plymouth Colony, and Stephen Hopkins, on their way to the home of Massasoit, in 1621, were the first of the Pilgrims to traverse this region, and John Winthrop, Junior, son of the Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, sailed down the "Great River" in 1636. No permanent settlement of the English was effected here, however, till the coming in 1637 of Elizabeth Pole, a gentlewoman of Somerset, with her associates. They made the final purchase of the lands of Cohannet, which in 1639, with its civil and military organizations, became known as the Town of Taunton, situated in the heart of the Old Colony.

Coming now to the pageant, the prologue suggests the imagination which precedes and inspires historic action. Father Time comes down the hills chanting, as fairies and wood sprites dance about him. The lines following were written by Reverend P. W. Sprague, while the chant was composed by W. J. Clemson.

I came I know not whence: I go I know
Not whither. Eye of things created ne'er
Upon my coming looked, nor shall it see
My passing. First and last of all things,—
For I am Time.

Upon the whole of things that little man
Calls universe I looked, ere yet the hand
Creative wrought. I saw when Order out
Of Chaos came and suns and stars were born,—
For I am Time.

Upon the speck of space that man calls earth
I looked, when first it left the sun, and took
Its shape, and came to be the home of things
That live. I've seen them grow from low to high,—
For I am Time.

I've seen the birth of man; seen how through strife
And strain and struggle man has doffed the brute
And donned the human; how with toil and tears
Man rises still and learns that he is soul,—
For I am Time.

And most of all I prize what noblest men
Of every age have lived and worked to gain,
And as the test of lasting good or ill
I ask: "What have ye wrought for liberty?"—
For I am Time.

The initial episode of the pageant consisted of two scenes, the first representing the American Indians at home. As Father Time crosses the arena, canoes are seen approaching from various parts of the lake. Indians call musically to one another and land with much pow-wow at the rock.

The chief takes a position in the middle of the arena and calls out, "Musquash, Squitteague, Succotash, Wampum, Quahog," while the medicine man beats a drum. As each sachem steps forth from the crowd the chief gives orders to go hunting, to put up the wigwam, to plant corn, to dig clams, to go fishing. The chief himself directs a stone-cutter who chisels an inscription on Dighton Rock. Children play games. A clambake is started by the squaws. A lone fisherman comes ashore with a long eel—great laughter among the tribe. Hunters return with game, including a live pigeon, which is released. Children shoot at

it with arrows as it flies over the lake. The princess comes in a canoe and performs a feather dance while the braves sit in a circle. A cannon booms. A terrified hunter comes rushing in, announcing that he has seen a strange apparition. The cannon booms again. The chief, startled, gives orders for the whole tribe to embark quickly. They pull down the wigwam and paddle off to the island. A belated clam digger comes running into the arena, gesticulates and swears excitedly, then plunges into the lake and swims after the canoes.

Scene two represents the discovery of America. Three shallops appear around the west end of the island (San Salvador). The sailors sing an old boat song, "Ali, alee, alo." A lone Indian appears walking meditatively across the arena—pauses in the centre, looks out on the lake, is startled at sight of the boats, studies intently (with hand shading eyes) the approaching boats, then turns and flees with a wail of alarm. Columbus and his retinue land. Columbus falls on his knees, kisses the earth, and gives thanks to God. His followers set up a wooden cross and standard of Spain. An old Latin hymn, "Ave Maris Stella," is sung. Columbus with drawn sword lifts a clod of earth and takes possession of America in the name of the Catholic Church and the King of Spain. Two sailors in chains for mutiny are pardoned by Columbus. Those who doubted the success of the voyage bow low in humble apology before him. A priest preaches a sermon on "Faith." Several natives appear timidly to the right and left. Columbus with outstretched arms bids them approach. They enter, looking with awe upon the white strangers, the cross, and the flag. Columbus brings out a lot of red hats which are distributed among the natives who wear the hats with much laughter, while the squaws stroke the beards of the Spaniards with affectionate amusement. The priest then takes them into the kingdom of the Church, making the sign of the cross. The natives bring presents—parrots, cocoanuts, spices, bananas, pineapples, nuggets of gold, which they lay at the foot of the cross.

The first scene of the third episode is laid in Taunton, England, a Puritan stronghold, situated on the road between London and Plymouth. In the play Sir Walter Raleigh is supposed to have just returned from America with the tobacco he is introducing into England, the time being about 1600. Shakespeare and some strolling players happen to meet him on the Green in Taunton. The principal characters include Lady Raleigh and the Earl of Southampton.

Enter Sir Walter and Lady Raleigh on horseback.

Raleigh (smoking a long pipe)—"Good morrow, merry men. We are riding up to London from Plymouth, and right glad we are to meet such jolly company."

Southampton—"Good morrow to you, Sir Walter, and to you, good Lady. Tarry with us a while I pray, and watch our merrymakings."

Raleign—"Marry sir, and I will. Wilt drink a pipe of the sweet and fragrant tobacco? This weed I've brought from South America will one day drive away the cares of all the human family."

Puritan Woman—"Away, vile revellers. Ye are converting men into chimney-pots of Hell."

Raleigh—"Peace, good dame. A pipe draws wisdom from the mouths of philosophers and stoppeth up the mouths of the foolish."

The second scene of this episode moves toward Taunton in New England. Through the dancing waves three shallops appear around the west end of "Clark's Island," behind which the *Mayflower* lies anchored. The Pilgrims land on Plymouth Rock, singing "Duke Street" as they land. They kneel upon the shore while Elder Brewster, standing, offers up a prayer of thanksgiving.

Brewster—"We lift up our eyes unto the Lord God of Hosts as we render thanksgiving for our entry into a safe harbor of shelter in this desert wilderness. Grant unto us, Thy servants, to humble ourselves before Thee, to seek a right way for our children and our substance. May we remain Thy people, and our land become the Garden of the Lord, a place of righteousness and peace for our posterity forever."

The men built a log house. The women take out washing, spinning wheel, pewter, and a cradle. Samoset enters, exclaiming "Welcome, Englishmen." He brings a basket of corn. A drummer by the log house calls the Pilgrims to meeting. John Alden and Priscilla Mullins walk hand in hand. While Brewster speaks an Indian runs in with a snake's skin filled with arrows. Standish turns them out, fills it with shot, and returns it to the messenger, the assembled company nodding approval.

Governor Carver (addressing John and Priscilla as they join hands)—"Priscilla and John, I declare you man and wife. What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder."

Brewster (reading from the Bible)—"Her husband is known in the gates, where he sitteth among the elders of the land. Strength and honor are her clothing, and she shall rejoice in time to come. She looketh well to the ways of her household and eateth not the bread of idleness."

Massasoit, six Indians, and an Indian boy enter. The natives examine the log house silently and curiously.

Massasoit—"Pale-face wigwam make good fire. Go up smoke quick."

Enter the colonists, with sheep, carrying bells. They are followed by Elizabeth Pole, Richard Williams, Miles Standish, and Samoset, who examines the log house and nods approval.

Elizabeth Pole—"Here are pastures for our flocks, meadows for our corn, springs of fresh water, rivers teeming with alewives, hemlocks to tan our leather, Here let us sit down."

Massasoit (pointing to ground)—"Indian name, Cohannet, good fish when leaves come, good hunt when leaves fall."

The colonists greet the Indians. Elizabeth caresses the Indian boy.

Massasoit (with uplifted spear measuring off the land and pointing in different directions)—"Winnecunett, Nemasket, Assawampset, Segragansett, Kickimuit, Talequega."

Elizabeth Pole purchases Taunton for a peck of pole beans and a jack-knife. The treaty is signed by Massasoit and Elizabeth.

The first scene of the third episode is laid in the Court of George III. The principals present include the King, Queen Charlotte, Pitt, General Gage, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Benjamin Franklin, with courtiers, ladies and soldiers.

Pitt—"It has pleased your Gracious Highness to summon before you our honored and valiant officer in the royal service, Thomas Gage. He awaits your Majesty's pleasure."

The King bows. Gates salutes with a sword.

The King—"Our trusted and most loyal officer is welcome. (To Gage.) You have rendered honorable and distinguished service for the mighty kingdom of Great Britain. (Handing him a document.) Herewith I do appoint you Governor of the royal province of Massachusetts, to preserve order and suppress all violence against the crown officials and our sovereign will."

Gage—"Wherever your Majesty's laws are in danger, there will the loyal soldier most firmly grapple with the foe."

The King—"America must be preserved to the British Empire, even at the point of the sword."

Franklin—"Most Gracious Sovereign, I humbly beg to intervene in behalf of the province of Massachusetts. I cannot believe your Majesty fully understands the true spirit of the American people. There are no more loyal subjects in the world than these same colonists, who are striving beyond the seas for the common rights of Englishmen. I pray that you will refrain from that coercion which may lead to the loss of your fair province. The fiery serpent of independence is already hissing 'Don't tread on me.' "

Queen (blandly and innocently)—"Do Americans still wear feathers in their hair?"

The whole company laughs.

Franklin (laughing heartily)—"Ah, no, most gracious Sovereign. I am afraid the Yankees have used all the feathers to mix with tar and decorate the obnoxious crown officials."

Pitt—"If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign army was landing on my shores, I never would give up my rights. Never! Never!! Never!!!"

Gage (astonished)—"Your defense of rebels in the royal presence is most ill-timed, my lord. Unless the American provinces submit to Parliament, I will stir the Yankee blood (gesticulating) as a barmaid stirs the toddy."

Franklin—"The more you stir the Yankee blood, the warmer it will burn for Liberty."

The final scene is on Taunton Green, New England, on the eve of the Revolution. Twenty-five men enter, bringing a flagpole.

Captain Crossman—"The Stamp Act is an insult to our liberties."

Dr. Cobb—"We'll dress the tax collector in tar and feathers."

Crossman—"We'll smuggle our wines and coffee up the river in the night."

Cobb—"If the King sends more troops to America, there will be war."

Robert Treat Paine—"Where shall the liberty pole be raised?"

Cobb—"Let it stand here in the centre of Taunton Green, where our train-bands have mustered for a hundred years."

The flagpole is raised. Sally Paine and other women enter.

Sally Paine—"Here is the flag, made with our own hands. You shall not find the Taunton women behind their brothers in devotion to the cause of liberty. Long may it wave on Taunton Green."

Cobb—"Three huzzars for Liberty and Union."

A shout goes up.

Paine—"Fellow townsmen and patriots. I believe this is the first flag bearing the motto, 'Liberty and Union,' to be raised in America. Let us pray that its prophecy become true. I will report to the Continental Congress that the old town of Taunton stands firmly in the forefront in zeal for unalienable human rights."

A coach is heard coming. Several shout—"Here comes Tory Leonard."

Leonard—"What is the meaning of yonder flag? Are you plotting treason to the King? Is Taunton become a nest of rebels?"

Cobb—"Colonel Leonard, you have the honor to be our representative to the General Court. We, your constituents, cannot approve your acceptance of the King's appointment as mandamus councillor, and therefore respectfully demand that you sign this letter of resignation."

Messenger (entering on horse and shouting)—"To arms, to arms! War has begun. The bloody redcoats have fired on the farmers at Lexington."

Captain Crossman—"Minute men of Taunton, assemble at once upon the Green. We start for Boston to-night. Leave the plow in the furrow, and the brick in the kiln."

Sally Paine—"Go, brothers, and defend your country. We will drive the oxen."

They saw the red flag in blue Liberty's dome
Wave o'er the valley, Equality's home,
And they heard the men say, while their own lips were dumb,
We'll defend with our valor and virtue and votes
The red flag of Taunton
That waves o'er the Green.

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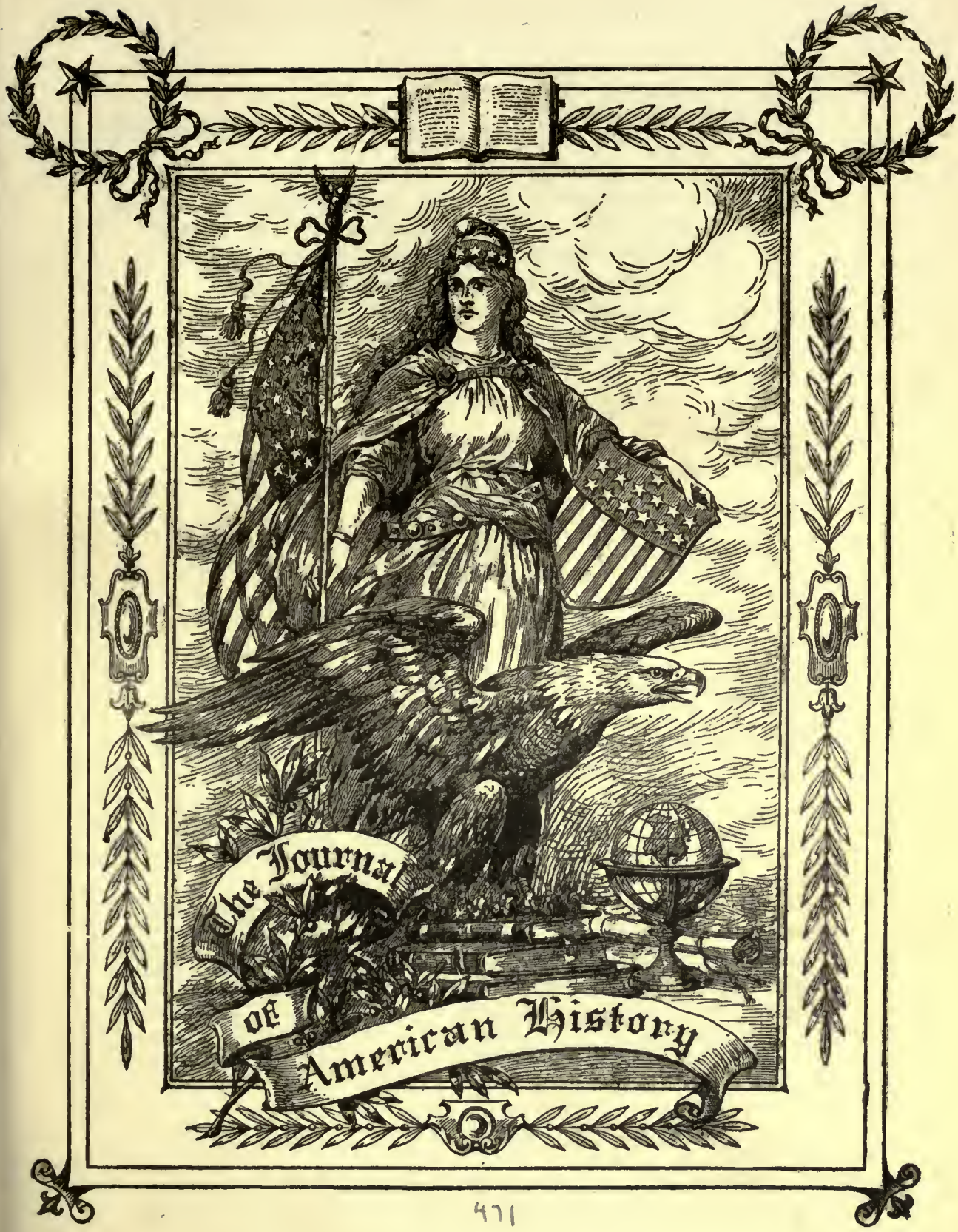
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Beautiful Spirit of These Gallant Southern Soldiers Was Indeed a "Triumph of Peace," and It Won Splendid Conquests on Both Sides. The Guard and the People of Atlanta Found Another Opportunity to Deepen Friendship with Their Northern Neighbors when This Sculpture Was Unveiled and They Welcomed to the Ceremonies the President of the United States, Many Other High Officials, and Thousands of American Soldiers. This Work of Art and Symbol of True Patriotism Is Presented as a Permanent Memorial in The Journal of American History Through the Courtesy of Jno. Williams, Inc., Bronze Foundry 561

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Ascribed to several branches of the family in America

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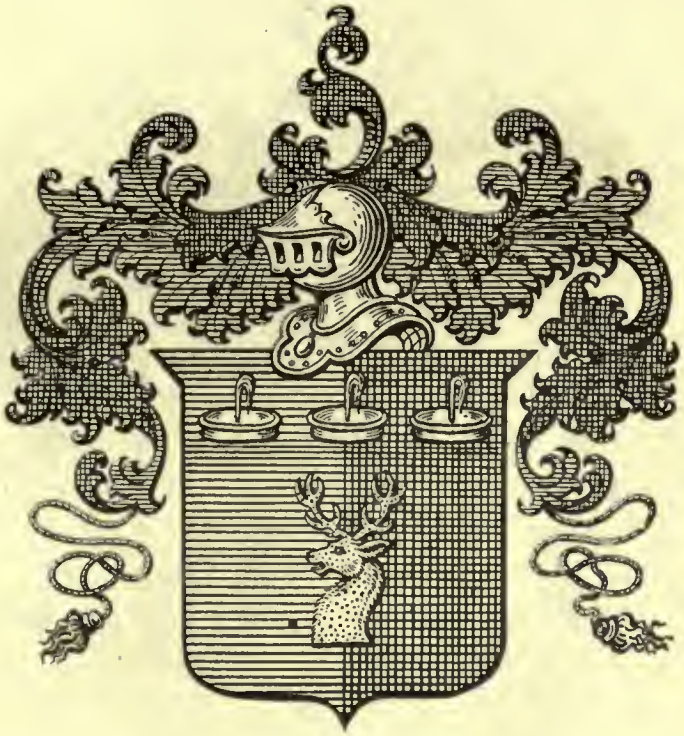
ONE OF THE OLDEST COATS-OF-ARMS OF THIS FAMILY



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ARMS OF AN ANCIENT FAMILY OF LONDON
Thomas Harding of London was prominently connected with the settlement of Virginia

JACQUES PIERRE BRISSOT, LEADER OF THE GIRONDISTS IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

He was the author of a three-volume work on the United States, which he visited soon after our War for Independence. He is believed to have been instrumental in the appointment of Edmond Charles Genet as Minister from France to America

EDMOND CHARLES GENET
First Minister from the French Republic to the United States

The Journal of American History

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NUMBER III
THIRD QUARTER

Edmond Charles Genet

BY

LOUIS FRANKLIN FACIO GENET
Grandson of "Citizen Genet" and His Wife, Cornelia Clinton

PART II

EDMOND CHARLES GENET left St. Petersburg the latter part of September, 1792, his mission there having ended. Since all historical writings should embody truth, pure and simple, without fictional extenuations, biased and misleading statements, or prejudicial comments, as I am approaching the period of his career as Minister to the United States, I will quote from his own writings.

Genet wrote the following letter to Thomas Jefferson in January, 1797. He was induced to write this letter after certain articles published at that period had been brought to his notice, in which he was again publicly assailed, and particularly by Mr. Giles, in a speech delivered by him before Congress in the May of 1796. I pass over Genet's prefatory remarks, which were not at all complimentary to Mr. Jefferson, and begin at that part which is in sequence in part of what has been given of his career.

"I knew you, Sir, long before my mission to the United States by the useful, though extremely cautious and timid, part which you acted in the American Revolution and by the intimacy, which as it was said at St. Petersburg, you had

formed at Paris with the first authors of our revolution. The Russian ministry who then wished to form a grand alliance with France and Spain to maintain order and peace in Europe by keeping the Anglo-Prussian league within bounds, viewed this connection with uneasiness. They were informed that you were at the secret meetings which plotted the submersion of the Ancient Government of France, that you were the confidant through whom La Fayette and his friends corresponded with England and America, and that the weak de Montmórin had associated you in his absurd and calamitous meddlings, but that they did not know a fact which I owe entirely to the pleasure which you derived in reporting it yourself in the presence of a great number of witnesses, which is, that at an entertainment at your house it was agreed after long debate, to give to the French that miserable, abortive Constitution, without form, and without strength, which was neither a Monarchy nor a Republic and could only lead to the abasement or destruction of France; a two-fold object which men accustomed to penetrate into the secrets of Courts were convinced that the Cabinets of St. James had never ceased to aim at, since Louis XVI had co-operated in producing American Independence.

"Obliged to retire from Russia after a residence there of over five years, I heard in passing through Versovia, that during the revolution of that unfortunate country, said to have been conducted with same views of the Court of St. James and Berlin, you had held correspondence with Mazzei and the principal actors of that federal and royal aristocracy, which had reduced the unfortunate Stanislaus Augustus and his ruined country to a state of degradation so dreadful, that I thanked God I should be no longer a witness of it, when a letter from Le Brun, elected Minister of Foreign Affairs by the National Convention, called me to Paris 'to render new service to my fellow citizens' who had cast off an useless, dangerous and perfidious royalty. I had hardly arrived at Paris when I was appointed Ambassador to Holland and informed of a plan somewhat matured of a quadruple alliance, and a reciprocal guarantee of Territory and government between France, England, Holland, and the United States. Being of opinion that this plan was out of date, and that the sword alone could open the way to that embassy, and being a Captain of Dragoons, having served eight years in that corps, I requested to be employed as an Adjutant General in the Army of Dumourier, who was covered at that time with popularity and laurels. My request granted, but that traitor general, having scrutinized me, and finding that we could not agree, the Council sent me to the Army of the Alps to remove difficulties excited by mischievous spirits who made Montesquie, the Conqueror of Savoy, waste his precious time at the doors of Geneva. To go the army,—to conclude the wished-for convention with Geneva to prevent their allies, the Swiss Cantons, from violating their neutrality and opening the gates of France to the Austrians,—to ensure by these means the celebrated victories which have immortalized the French under the conduct of Buonaparte and to secure for the Re-

public a convenient place for her negotiations, entrusted with so much propriety to the skillful Burthelaurie, was the work of fifteen days. It was hardly supposed that I had arrived at Savoy when I brought the unexpected result of my mission. Being desirous of returning to the Army, not in a political but in a military, capacity, I was about making an application for it when the Council informed me that I was nominated Minister to the United States. The principal members of the Diplomatic Committee were incessantly felicitating me upon that event and telling me that, having been the only minister in Foreign Courts that dared to act as a freeman, that dared to write to the King with candor and courage, that he would not play the infamous part of an impostor, to develop the detestable treaty of Pilnitz and to protest in the midst of the Court of Catherine II in the name of the imperishable rights of Nations against the foul usurpation of Despots; in short, that for all these, as well as other, reasons, I had been considered the fittest person to reside near the Fathers of our Liberty; to study Liberty, indeed, at their school and, above all, to negotiate with you, Sir, whom, led astray by the coruscations of your genius and still more by your false popularity, they represented as a guardian angel which those Fathers had sent to conduct us to the promised land, from which your successor, Mr. Morris, to their great astonishment, was openly working to shut us out. They said that it belonged to me to cement the new ties which were to naturalize reciprocally the Americans and the French, that an overture for and renewal of a closer friendly intercourse had been made by you and the President, to the Constitutional Minister of the King at Philadelphia and that undoubtedly a union which the great Washington had promoted during the existence of Constitutional Royalty would be still more desirable and agreeable under the Republic. Thus the chiefs of the Geronde party were reasoning, except the judicious author of the calculations on probabilities, who, seeing neither attraction nor affinity between the two governments, since Royalty was out of the question, was of opinion that I would more easily succeed with the Grand Signior, than the great Washington, and that it would be more expedient to send me to Constantinople to excite the Turks against the Russians and to execute plans which I had formed to attack in the rear that presumptuous power, which was then threatening to send her Cossacks to usurp the seats of our Legislators. I thought with Condorcet that the proposed union with the United States was also out of date, but the mission to Constantinople having been given to another person; and America presenting herself in alluring colors to my imagination, I hurried the making out of my instructions, which were the faithful result of the Decrees of the Convention, the Decisions of the Committees, the resolves of the Councils, and the opinions of the most influential men, and I departed, determined to put to the test of experience all the projects which had been entrusted to me; this way being the surest road to success when the measures intended are well calculated, and affording the best grounds to recede upon when they are not so."

Up to this point it has been shown what Genet's lineage was, what his childhood and youth were, the teachings he received, the proper influential environments of his home, and how those teachings and influences moulded his character in so pronounced a way that that astute judge of men, Madame Roland, said of him in her work, "An Appeal to Posterity:" "Brissot blended no personal feeling with the choice of an Ambassador to the United States of America; he was the last man in the world to be so influenced. He nominated Genet, who had just passed five years in Russia, and who, besides being already conversant with diplomatic affairs, possessed all the moral virtues and all the information that could render him agree able to a serious people. That proposal was wise; it was supported by every possible consideration; and Genet was preferred.

"I saw Genet; I desired to see him again, and should always be delighted with his company. His judgment is solid and his mind enlightened; he has as much sincerity as decency of manners; his conversation is instructive and agreeable, and equally free from pedantry and from affectation; gentleness, propriety, grace and reason are his characteristics; and with all this merit he united the advantage of speaking English fluently. Let the ignorant Robespierre and the extravagant Chabot declaim against such a man by calling him the friend of Brissot; let them procure by their clamors the recall of the one and the trial of the other, they will only add to the proofs of their own villainy and stupidity, without hurting the fame of those whom they may find means to deprive of their existence. If Brissot's choice and nomination of Genet be an intrigue, let us hope that all intrigues may resemble Brissot's."

The Memoirs of Madame Roland, and her "Appeal to Posterity" were written while she was in prison, and her allusions to Genet were in part in defense of Brissot. Gouverneur Morris was very active at this time in his efforts to have Genet recalled, in compliance with Jefferson's instructions, based upon the desires of Washington's Cabinet.

Why Genet was chosen as Minister Plenipotentiary from the Republic of France to the Republic of the United States is now apparent.

Brissot probably persuaded Genet to accept the mission to the United States. He had been to this country when making the rounds of the French Colonies. He had studied the condition of the negroes in the latter and the advantages of extending the commercial relations of the United States and France. While here he was entertained by the first families, among them the Jays and Kings. He returned to France to become a leader in the Giroudin faction. He urged the emancipation of the slaves and also urged extension of commercial relations with the United States. But on the 24th of October, 1793, his head and those of twenty others fell into the basket of the guillotine in the space of thirty-six minutes.

The object of Genet's mission to the United States was, chiefly, to negotiate a new treaty of commerce between the two countries, and to arrange for the

anticipation by the United States of the payments of her indebtedness to France. Genet was strictly enjoined by his instructions to be open and frank in all his efforts and not to cloud his purposes by any courtly or monarchical methods of presentation, as that way of proceeding was contrary to a republican course.

On the 23d of January, 1793, he bade adieu to his family and left for Rochefort, from which port he was to embark for the United States. Madame Campan says that "it was the expectation of the Girondists to arrange an escape of the Royal Family, then prisoners in the Temple, and that their safety would have been entrusted to Genet." There is good ground for accepting this as a secret project, as Genet's departure from Rochefort was held back for quite thirty days. But in the meantime Louis XVI was guillotined. The power of the Girondists was subverted, and *Citoyen* Genet sailed on February 21, 1793, on the French frigate *l'Ambuscade,* commanded by *Citoyen* Bompard. All titles of whatever kind had been abrogated in France by a decree of the National Assembly and the one common term, *"Citoyen,"* was the vogue.

The following is a copy of Genet's Letter of Credence as Minister to the United States:

"In the name of the French Republic, by virtue of the Law of 19th August last which confers on the Executive Council, provisionally, all the functions of the Executive Power, and of the Decrees of the National Convention of the 21st of September following, which continue the Public Authorities in force at the last period:

"WE, the citizens forming the Provisional Executive Council, to the Republic of the United States of North America:

"Very dear, great Friends and Allies:

"Having resolved to appoint a successor to Citizen Ternant, Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic residing with you, we have chosen Citizen Genet, Adjutant General and Colonel in the service of the Republic, to replace him in the same character. The proofs of zeal and patriotism which he has hitherto given, persuade us that he will conduct himself in a manner to render his person agreeable.

"We pray you, very dear, great Friends and Allies, to give full credit to all he shall be charged to say to you, on the part of the Republic, especially when he assures you of our disposition to promote the interests and prosperity of the United States. We do not doubt he will give all his attention to convince you of the desires of the French Nation to bind more and more the ties of friendship and fraternity which ought to unite two free people formed mutually to esteem each other and to establish between them the most perfect harmony.

"Written at Paris the 30th of December, 1792, the first year of the Republic.

"The citizens forming the Provisional Executive Council of the French Republic.

"Le Brun. Clavierre, Garat, Roland, Pache, Monge.

"By the Provisional Executive Council.

"GROUVILLE,

"Secretary of the Council."

As was the custom with all French government vessels at that time bound for America, the *Ambuscade* sailed via the West Indies, giving *Citoyen* Genet an opportunity for obtaining a correct impression of conditions in the French possessions there. When off the Bermudas the *Ambuscade* captured a prize, and, after a few days, put to sea; but by hard winds she was forced out of her intended course and put into the port of Charleston, where *Citoyen* Genet, *Citoyen* Bompard, and the officers of the *Ambuscade* and other French vessels there in that port were handsomely received by the citizens. The second night after their arrival a banquet to Genet and the officers of the *Ambuscade,* to which some of the prominent officials and citizens were invited, was given by Commodore Alexander Gillen.

Commodore Gillen had done great service in various ways in the early days of the Revolution. He had formed and equipped a Volunteer Company, known as the German Fusiliers, which had performed valuable service. He went to France in 1779 and was some two or three years endeavoring to effect a loan for the State of South Carolina; but he was opposed by Franklin, then in Paris, who seemed determined to obstruct Gillen's efforts, even when he was in Holland, where he was negotiating the purchase of two vessels, which were originally intended for the French navy, but on which, for some reason, work had been stopped. He finally procured one of them through the assistance of the Duc de Luxemburg and named it *South Carolina.* Colonel Laurens had arranged with Gillen to convey to Philadelphia one of the instalments of the monies loaned by France to the United States.

At the time of Genet's arrival at Charleston Gillen was a Member of Congress, and had previously served in important civil and naval capacities. While in Paris he had met Genet's family and had been entertained by them, and it was quite natural that he should have availed himself of an opportunity to extend to Genet some courtesies. The banquet given by him was one of several fêtes held in honor of Genet while he was in Charleston.

The day Genet sailed out of the port of Rochefort, the men who signed his Letter of Credence and his instructions were under arrest, and Robespierre and his gang were in power. What effect this change would have had on Genet had his departure from France been still further delayed is a question hard at this time to determine. At that time he was not objectionable to Robespierre, because of his Constitutional principles, nor is there anything to show that he was in disfavor, until Jefferson wrote his letter to Morris, who quickly acted upon it,

and Robespierre, through his intense hatred for Brissot, used it for all it was worth against him, as Madame Roland implies.

Genet arrived in Charleston the morning of April 8, 1793. He received valuable information at Charleston as to the *personnel* of Washington's Cabinet, and, after delivering to Mongomet, French Consul at Charleston, some commissions in blank form, and acquainting himself with conditions there, so far as they applied to France, he left for Philadelphia, overland. He was powerless to act then, as his credentials were not yet presented, nor had he been formally received in the capacity in which he came, and he did not attempt any act that would have tended to his discredit. It has been said that he did, but the proof is not in evidence. Let him tell his own story, as written by him in his letter to Jefferson, previously mentioned.

"I took a determination to travel by land to Philadelphia and to take the opportunity of seeing the handsomest parts of the continent, observing the disposition of the inhabitants, and perhaps of having a private interview with the President in Virginia, in the character of a traveler before I was officially introduced to him, a visit from which our two countries might have been benefited if I had been kindly received. I undertook with all possible celerity this agreeable and instructive tour, after having left with the counsel, accredited by the federal government at Charleston, the special orders of the Executive Committee for the due execution of which he was responsible.

"The affecting and unexpected proofs which I received of the attachment of the people of the country to the French nation seemed to me to augur well; but the precipitate retreat of the President from Mount Vernon and the coolness of the commercial towns appeared suspicious. Nevertheless I proceeded, and expressing on every occasion, and particularly at the table of Mr. Lee, Governor of Virginia, my respect for the Federal Government and its illustrious Chief. Being but a few miles from Philadelphia, I was informed by confidential persons who had arrived before me, that a great number of citizens had determined to meet me in town and present me with an address, while other citizens were to present another to the President, to thank him for the Proclamation of Neutrality which had been issued about a month before. I was informed that you were the author of that Proclamation; and it was probable that the two addresses were equally instigated by the Government. I was pressed to wait for the procession which was to set forth at a given signal. But this report, which had the semblance of truth, seemed to me as a ne wlight. I penetrated your tactics, and I saw that all that apparel of popularity with which you were about to environ me, and of which you have boasted in your letter to Morris, was done, on the one hand, to obtain for the Government forgiveness from the allied Courts for the vain formality of my diplomatic reception, and, on the other hand, to blind me, and under me, as well, Republican France, dormant, and finally to gain time without doing anything."

Genet, valuing the information as imparted to him, as true, saw the necessity for caution, and was preparing to make his *entré* into the city as privately as possible, but was forestalled in his purpose by the appearance of the delegation appointed to receive him. He was informed that the people were at the State House, waiting to present him with an address. So he was escorted by this delegation of thirty citizens to the State House square and there presented with the address of welcome. The next day he was received by Washington, but, Genet says, in "a reception perfectly neutral and unmeaning."

The publishing of the Proclamation of Neutrality on the 22d of April, 1793, had excited heated discussion. Partisan discussions *pro* and *con,* as communicated to the newspapers of the period, show the sentiment of the people. The Executive came in for its portion of censure and Genet, of course, for his, on account of his alleged breach of diplomatic etiquette in supplying blank Letters of Marque to the French Consul at Charleston, for the purpose of issuance to vessels captured by the French as privateers, before he had presented his credentials and been duly received as the Minister from France by Washington.

The sentiments of a large part of the people were so strongly in favor of the French Republic as evinced by them in their reception of Genet while *en route* to Philadelphia, and the determination of the citizens of that city to publicly express to him the gratitude generally felt for the aid given by the French to Americans in their struggle for and establishment of a free government, made Genet popular, as the representative of that new Republic. The Executive Department was anxious to neutralize the effect of this popularity. (*Sessions of the Cabinet, 1793, Jefferson's Writings, Volume 1, Monticello Edition.*)

Genet immediately began the negotiations of the purposes of his mission. He met with opposition from the start from the Executive Department. Communications between him and Jefferson, then Secretary of State, were frequent. One of the purposes of Genet's mission was to induce the United States to anticipate the payment of the remaining instalments of the debt to France, and he pledged himself to expend the sums so paid in purchasing stores, flour, etc., in the United States. The French West India Colonies were in distress at that time, and there was most urgent need to relieve them. Hamilton opposed the proposition. Previous to Genet's appointment, the question of a new treaty between the two Republics had been discussed by the French ministry, and Genet was empowered to negotiate with the United States such a treaty. This he brought up in a communication to Mr. Jefferson, but, on being informed that nothing could be done on that line until the convening of Congress, Genet rested for the time being on that subject.

In the meantime, the affairs of the *Little Sarah* were giving trouble. The Warden of the Port of Philadelphia heard that the *Little Sarah,* a vessel captured some time before by the French frigate *Ambuscade,* and taken into the port of Philadelphia, was increasing her armament and preparing to depart. The

MARIE JEAN ANTOINE NICOLAS CARITAT, MARQUIS DE CONDORCET
Prominent in the Girondist faction at the French Revolution, and Secretary of the French Legislative Assembly in 1792, when Genet was sent to the United States

CHARLES FRANCOIS LE BRUN
As a member of the Provisional Executive Council of the French Republic, he signed Genet's Letter of Credence as Minister to the United States. He was created by Napoleon Duc de Plaisance and was made a Peer of France by Louis XVIII

Warden informed Mr. Alexander J. Dallas, Secretary of State for the State of Pennsylvania. Mr. Dallas reported to Governor Mifflin and was instructed to call on Mr. Genet, to induce him to detain the sailing of the vessel until President Washington returned from Mount Vernon.

It was on the evening of July 6th, at eleven o'clock, that Dallas called and had his interview with Genet, who refused to comply with the request. The day after, Mr. Jefferson called on Genet, for the same purpose of detaining the sailing of the *Little Sarah* (then called the *Petit Democrat*). Genet said to Jefferson that the vessel would probably not sail before Wednesday, which Jefferson inferred was tantamount to a promise that she would not be allowed to sail until then, and Washington would be back by that day. The vessel, however, dropped down to Chester, and anchored there, where she was on the morning of Washington's return to Philadelphia.

Mr. Dallas had reported his interview with Genet to Governor Mifflin and he, in turn, reported it to Mr. Jefferson, but in such a way (as will appear later on) as to convey the impression that Genet had, in an excited manner, said that, if the President opposed him in his determination to despatch the vessel, he "would appeal from the President's decision to the people." In that shape it was given to Washington on his arrival in Philadelphia. Jefferson was absent when Washington arrived and the Cabinet meeting to be held at Washington's house was, of course, adjourned. Washington wrote Jefferson immediately, taking him to task for non-attendance, and asking him "What is to be done in the case of the *Little Sarah,* now at Chester? Is the Minister of the French Republic to set the acts of the Government at defiance with impunity, and then threaten the Executive with an appeal to the people" The *Little Sarah* was gone, however, and the report of Genet's threat to appeal from the decision of the President to the people was also set upon its course, well piloted, as will be seen.

Genet had concluded to change the place of *rendezvous* for the French fleet from Philadelphia to New York City, and, giving orders to that effect, he went to Baltimore to arrange for the succoring of the refugees from the French West Indies, after which he left for New York City, where his arrival was anxiously awaited by the citizens. The report of his asserted threatened appeal had preceded him.

About this time a challenge had been given by Captain Courtenay, Commander of the English frigate *Boston,* to Bompard, Commander of the *Ambuscade.* Much expense had been incurred in preparing the *Boston* at Halifax for this purpose, and Courtenay, a popular officer in the English service, was fêted by the citizens of Halifax, the ladies taking up a subscription which was to be distributed among the crew if they captured the *Ambuscade.* Bompard accepted the challenge and sailed out to meet the *Boston.* They met off the Jersey coast, below Long Branch. Courtenay and a Lieutenant and some of the crew were killed, and the vessel much damaged, but the *Ambuscade* was unable to pursue

her as her main-sail was shot away. The news of this encounter reached New York and was the subject for much talk and glorifications of all sorts. The Royalists, of course, were much chagrined.

On August 1st Mr. George Hammond, the British Minister, arrived in New York. The arrival of this man at this particular time has more than an ordinary significance. He and Hamilton were friends. Hammond had great influence, and there is no doubt that all the weight of that influence was thrown against Genet. Some of the articles then published against Genet were supposed to have been instigated by him.

The following extract from Watson's "Annals of New York" will give a fair idea of how everything had changed at this time from English to French, one cause of alarm to the Royalists, and to Mr. Hammond in particular.

"About the year 1793-4 there was an extravagant and impolitic affection for France, and hostility to everything British, in our country generally. It required all the prudence of Washington and his Cabinet to stem the torrent of passions which flowed in favor of France to the prejudice of our neutrality. Now the event is passed we may thus soberly speak of its character. It may be remembered with what joy the people ran to the wharves at the report of cannon, to see the arrival of the Frenchmen's prizes, we were so pleased to see the British Union down. When French mariners or officers were met in the streets they would be saluted by the boys with 'Viva la France,' 'Viva la Republic.' The streets, too, at night, resounded with French national airs sung by ourselves, such as 'Allons enfants de la patrie,' 'Dansons le Carmagnole,' etc. Many, too, put on the national cockade of red, blue and white. Liberty poles, surmounted with red liberty caps, were often set up. We remember the French frigate *l'Ambuscade* as making her stay in New York harbor, and at night the officers and men in launches would go up and down the harbor with bands of music singing the national airs. At the same time the *Boston* (British frigate) lay off the Hook, and sent in a challenge for *l'Ambuscade* 'to come and fight' her. It was accepted, and many citizens went out in pilot boats to see the action and drawn battle. Then appeared the song:

"'Brave Boston from Halifax sailed,
With Courtenay, Commander who never did fear,
Nor returned from a fight with a flee in his ear.
As they steered for the Hook each swore by his book
No prayers should their vengeance retard.
They would plunder and burn, they'd never return
Unattended by Captain Bompard.'

"All the facts of that day, as we now contemplate them, seem something like the remembrance of our dreams. It was a time when people seemed maddened

by the impulse of feeling—such as we hope never to see aroused again for any foreigners. They were fine feelings to ensure the success of a war actually begun, but bad affections for any nation whose interests lay in peace and neutrality. Washington bravely submitted to become unpopular to allay and repress this dangerous foreign attachment. About this time almost any vessel arriving brought fugitives from the infuriated negroes in Cape François, Port au Prince, etc., or from the sharp axe of the guillotine of France, dripping night and day with the blood of Frenchmen, shed in the name of Liberty and the sacred rights of man.

"The city thronged with French people of all shades from the French Colonies, giving it the appearance of one great hotel, or place of refuge for strangers hastily collected from a raging tempest. The characteristic old school simplicity of the citizens, in manners, habits of dress, and modes of thinking and speaking on the subject of civil rights, and forms of government, by the square and rule of reason and argument, began to be broken in upon by the new enthusiasm of *la mode Française.* French boarding houses, marked *Pension Française,* multiplied in every street. Before such houses, groups of both sexes were to be seen seated on chairs, embarrassing the walkers, and the French in full converse, their tongues, shoulders and hands in perpetual motion, all talkers and no hearers.' Mestizo ladies, with complexions of the palest marble, jet black hair and eyes of the gazelle, with persons of exquisite symmetry, were to be seen escorted along the pavements by white French gentlemen, both dressed in the richest materials of West India cut and fashion; also coal black negroes in flowing white dresses, and turbans of 'Muchoir de Madras,' exhibiting their ivory dominoes, in social walk with white or mixed creoles, altogether forming a lively contrast to our native Americans and the *émigres* from old France, most of whom still kept to the stately old Bourbon style of dress and manner, wearing the head full powdered, 'â la Louis,' golden headed cane, silver set buckles, and cocked hat, seemingly to express 'en silence' their profound contempt for the pantaloons, silk stockings and 'Brutus Crop.' The French West Indians, as well as many of ourselves, wore the pantaloons with *feet* to them, let into the shoes. Their ladies dressed generally *'en chemise'*—a loose flowing exterior, which strikingly aided to expose their superior figures and forms. Such chemise dresses *our young ladies* soon learned to adopt and follow. They made no mistakes in imagining the real symmetry of our belles.

"It is wonderful how little these French people mixed in our society. They formed but few alliances with us; and finally disappeared like birds of passage, going we know not where. While they remained they gave an air of French to everything. They introduced us to the use of their confections and bon-bons, jewelry and trinkets, dancing and music. In music they excelled. The boarding houses daily and nightly resounded with the violin and clarionette, and from their example we adopted the cotillions and laid aside all former British dances.

The Frenchmen were great promenaders, being much abroad in the streets as walkers, and much in the country as shooters. They shot and ate all manner of birds, thinking that all depended on the cooking. They were great shots upon the wing; indeed, they taught us to shoot with the double-barreled gun, expensively finished. These were new to us and we adopted them. Before then we were more of fishers than shooters, or sought our bird game on the water. From them we first began the study of the French and the use of the piano; many of them serving us as instructors. From them we adopted gold watches and gilded framed looking glasses and pictures. They always dressed with great freshness and cleanliness; but their housekeeping was with proverbial neglect and slovenliness. They had no aim at nice floors, burnished furniture or cleanly kitchens. They had no love to clean water but on their persons; and from that cause, they first introduced us to the use and support of public baths. They taught us also to much change our table diets, to use soups, salads, sweet oil, tomatoes, ragouts, fricassees, and perfumes. They had bread bakers for 'French bread' of their own, leavened in their own peculiar way, and French restaurants to furnish ready cooked dishes for their dinners. From them we learned the use of mattresses and high bedsteads, the love of musical entertainments and orchestra singing. In a word, they inoculated us with Frenchified tastes and affections."

[*To be continued.*]

Eighty Years Ago in the Great Middle West

How a Marylander Led an Indian Nation From Ohio to Arkansas—Old St. Louis—"Indiana Must Become One of the Finest States in the Union"—The Story Told in Letters Written by George Washington Gist to His Father, Colonel Joshua Gist, and Offered for Permanent Record in The Journal of American History

BY

MARGARET GIST

Whose Husband, George Washington Gist, is the Grand Nephew of George Washington Gist, the Leader of the Indians

GEORGE WASHINGTON GIST was the son of Colonel Joshua Gist, one of the early settlers of Carroll County, Maryland, whose ancestors settled in Baltimore County in the early Sixteen Hundreds.

George Washington Gist was born near Westminster, Carroll County, on December 18, 1795, and died on November 20, 1854, from a paralytic stroke which he received while at the mouth of the Ohio River on his way home from a trip.

He went up into Ohio when quite a young man, and, by farming and surveying the new country, "managed to pay his debts and make a good living," as he tells his father in a letter, dated at Weston, February 8, 1851. He writes that he started out with his brother, "John, a small boy, with nothing to commence on, but with one old horse and even then selling corn at seventy-five cents per bushel (now in 1851 selling corn at one dollar and twenty-five cents per bushel), but we did manage to make a good living, get our debts paid, and finally eighty acres of land."

He seems to have prospered after that start, buying piece after piece of land, and boasts of having "the finest horse in the country."

In 1831 he was appointed to transfer the Seneca Indians from Tiffin, Ohio, to Arkansas, and the following description of the journey was found among his letters to his father, Colonel Joshua Gist, living at Westminster, Maryland.:

"Tiffin, Feby. 4th, 1832.

"My trip with the Indians in many respects was pleasant and agreeable, tho'

I suffered much from the severity of the weather. I became much attached to many of the Indians, who I believe would risk their lives for me, they evidently show their attachment for me. When I was parting with them to return I assure you it was affecting. From this place we conveyed them to Dayton in wagons, twenty-five in number, from there to Cincinnati on board two canal boats. Here we put all the Indians on steamboats—two hundred and thirty two—(about one hundred and sixty or one hundred and seventy determined to go by land and meet us at St. Louis). In one day and night we reached Louisville, Ky., one hundred and fifty miles, and stayed there one day and night. The theatre being open we all had an invitation and many attended (gratis), the second tier of boxes being assigned to us, and we cut a considerable figure, as many of the Indians *put on their best.* As in all theatres there are some ill-behaved, when we entered the box they began to hiss. I mentioned to one of the managers that I thought he could turn their hissing into praise of the Indians. I then took one of the chiefs, Comstick, aside and told him that he must go to the boat and get his flag (made a present to the nation by the President—I think Monroe), a beautiful one. He agreed and got it. I gave him his instructions through the interpreter, that when the curtain fell he must hold out his flag with the expression "Our country's flag." After arranging all the chiefs together in the front of the box we waited for the first scene to be finished. When the curtain fell Comstick held out his flag, out of which dropped down into the pit a beautiful handkerchief, when such applause ensued as to almost deafen. Huzza for the Eagle and the Seneca Indians, etc., etc. On leaving Louisville, we passed through the canal to avoid the falls, which is a grand undertaking, well accomplished, from thence to the mouth of the Ohio, thence up the Mississippi to St. Louis, a distance of five hundred miles in five days. In passing up the Mississippi we had a chase with a New Orleans steamboat which alarmed me very much, as I much feared from their exertions that they might burst a boiler. When the other boat found we would pass her, having run close up to her, and sometimes alongside for about three hours. When alongside she turned and made an effort to run into our wheel house, but the 'Old Ben Franklin' was going too fast, so instead of running into our wheel house, hit our guard in stern and knocked us about twenty or thirty yards out into the river, but did us no injury further than to knock our tables, chairs, etc., and alarm me monstrously for it knocked me off my chair. I had been in bed. Finding the boat to move in an unusual way, I got up without putting on my clothes, went out and found the two boats along side of each other. I went to the engineer, asked him if there was not danger in the manner we were going, and determined to knock him over if he said there was, but he declared there was none, and I returned and seated myself before the stove (the Indians on deck, most of them asleep), when, crash! came the boat against us and down I came. I however, jumped up, put on my pantaloons, believing the boiler had bursted, and prepared myself for swimming, but when I went out I found the 'Old Ben' going

as usual and the other boat away out in the river, and we saw her no more, until we saw her about twelve hours after us come to St. Louis."

"Feby. 27, 1832.

"On my arrival in St. Louis we reported ourselves to General Clark, who has the superintendence of Indian affairs for all the country west of the Mississippi, and is a very agreeable old gentleman, and showed much attention to us. The weather during the time we had been traveling by water had been very fine (the middle of November, 1831). We were detained for instructions, procuring wagons, provisions, etc., for twelve or fourteen days, and encamped seven miles out of town on a farm belonging to General Clark. By the time we were ready to proceed onto the lands assigned to the Senecas, across the southwest corner of Missouri in Arkansas, the weather set in pretty cold (first of December). We, however, pushed on, encamping out at night. Crossing the Missouri River to Troy, sixty miles, when the Indians refused to proceed farther, some of them and some of the wagoners having their feet and their hands frozen. After looking out for a place for them, which was found on some United States land, and having made arrangements for having their provisions during the winter, we returned to St. Louis. Crossed the Missouri River on ice, which but a few days before we had crossed in a horse boat. On arriving at St. Louis General Clark gave us leave to return home until the breaking up of the spring, when Henry C. Brish is required to return and take the Indians on. General Clark insisted upon our preparing ourselves for cold weather, as we must pass through the extreme prairies of Illinois, and, after being furnished with horses, etc., we each got buffalo socks and fur gloves; Henry Brish a red Indian blanket, and William a blue one, and I got an elegant buffalo robe, fixed strings and a belt to it, which made the ugliest but warmest coat I ever wore. I did not nor could not get cold under it, besides it was my bed at night, as I cheerfully resigned my claim to a bed to Henry and William Brish, wrapped myself in their blankets, laid down on outside of robes, and pulled the other over me, with my great coat for a pillow, and my feet to the fire. I found it infinitely preferable to the beds we could find in the Illinois cabins. Our route was on the United States road, but little work having been done on it, and very little traveling, only having been laid out two years since, we found it very bad, and often hard put to get lodgings and horse feed, the prairies being very extensive, some as far as the eye could reach (the cold intense), not a solitary tree to be seen for miles. Some days we had to ride from the dawn of day until after night, from one narrow skirt of woods to the next (for no one could, nor I suppose ever will live in the prairies). After leaving the prairies and getting into Indiana we had better accommodations and felt more like getting home, as we found timber, something like ours, in Sandusky. In Green Castle, Ind., I met with John Hammond, who married Mary Owings; he is again married and the owner of large bodies of fine land, mills, town lots,

etc. I traded horses with him, mine being given out, and got from him one of the finest I ever owned. The land in Missouri, as far as I saw of it, is high, dry prairie, with here and there skirts of timber land, perhaps enough for fencing, and four or five years' fire wood. The soil is certainly very good. The corn crops were as good as any I ever saw. The Missouri River empties into the Mississippi about twenty-four miles above St. Louis, and waters of the rivers do not rise until many miles below St. Louis, that of the Missouri always muddy, though by standing a short time in a vessel it becomes clear and delightful to drink; that of the Mississippi clear but never very good to drink. We crossed the Missouri at St. Charles, when in looking either up or down it you would suppose it impossible for boats to pass, it being full of snags. In standing on its banks I had but to admire its motion, notwithstanding its ugly, muddy color, and being so great a stream it is constantly turning and boiling up its waters, which motion causes the many frequent changes of its current. At St. Charles I met with a nephew of Doctor Hall, his name I have forgotten. He intends establishing a store in the Indian Nation after they have become settled. He made application to the Chiefs and they, after having consulted with Mr. Brish and myself, agreed to admit him and no other as their merchant. He appears to be well acquainted with the Indian character, and this being a wealthy tribe, I think he will do well, provided he pleases them. As I was constantly engaged writing (as all communications to General Clark had to be done in writing) whilst in St. Louis, I had but little time to look out for any that might have left Maryland and settled there. On my return I had part of a day to myself. In the evening I went to see John Johnson, formerly Indian Agent for Michigan, and brother to Doctor Johnson, of Baltimore County, and spent a very agreeable evening. He has lately married a fine woman. My greatest anxiety was to see his daughters, half-blood Indians. I found two beautiful, black-eyed girds. The other married a gentleman of St. Louis. They are quite accomplished, having had every attention paid to their education. I was told that he, previous to his marriage, deposited ten thousand dollars for each of his daughters, beside giving a house and lot in town and one thousand acres of land to each.

"St. Louis is quite a large place, but not very handsome, being very irregularly laid out, very lively and a great deal of business done in it. I cannot say I was pleased with any part of Illinois except what is called the American bottom, which is certainly very rich and beautiful on account of the many mounds interspersed through it. It is, however, sickly. It lies opposite St. Louis, up and down the river. Indiana abounds in the finest of land and certainly must become one of the finest States in the Union. The Wabash country will rival with any country and be surpassed by few for beauty and richness of soil."

1912--Anniversary Year of Two American Wars

I

INDEPENDENCE was not achieved by the United States until the close of the War of 1812. When the year opened a century ago America was fast tending toward subjection to Great Britain, yet but for the determination of a few men in Congress war would never have been declared. President Madison was not a military man, and only one of his Cabinet had any military training, which was too slight to be of any real service to the administration. The policy adopted was dilatory and vacillating and excepting for the constant effort of a few men England would have swept American commerce from the seas, reducing the new nation to a condition of vassalage more hateful, even, than the connection which was severed in 1776. Few ascribe to the War of 1812 its true place in the history of the United States. Many have passed it with scarcely more than a cursory examination into causes and results. Still others have looked upon it as a conflict brought about by Jingoes in Congress who were determined to fight England because the officers of her ships insisted upon searching American vessels and impressing American seamen!

True, this was one cause, yet it should not be magnified and made to appear the sole reason. Impressment of seamen was one feature only of the policy which was being so persistently followed by England. Far-sighted men saw that a conflict must come, if independence was to be maintained, and they urged preparation long before the administration even insisted upon American rights.

The navy was neglected, yet it proved to be of the utmost importance. In spite of the pleas of men who understood the situation Congress refused to act. Cheves, of South Carolina, reported in favor of increasing the navy and wanted forty-five frigates and twenty-five ships of the line. He was supported by Lowndes, both arguing that "protection to commerce was protection to agriculture." Others stood with them in their efforts. The bill went over to the Senate, where Lloyd, of Massachusetts, on January 17, 1812, advocated the construction of thirty frigates and painted in glowing eloquence the disastrous consequences to English commerce likely to follow. Crawford, of Georgia, opposed the bill. The Senate passed it with the appropriation for repairs reduced to $300,000.

In March, 1812, a committee of prominent Democrats waited upon President Madison and told him that unless he acceded to the demands of the dominant party in the nation and Congress, his re-nomination was doubtful. De Witt Clinton, then Mayor of New York, was suggested as his probable successor.

Accordingly, one hundred years ago, in April, President Madison took the first steps. On the first day of the month he sent a confidential message to Congress recommending an embargo upon all vessels as preliminary to a declaration of war.

It was early in February, 1812, that an intrigue was exposed which proved that the British government had employed a spy to attempt to separate the Eastern States from the remainder of the Union and in some way to attach them to Great Britain. The spy's name was Henry and he was commissioned by Sir James Craig, Governor-General of Canada. Disappointed in not receiving from the English government what was promised him, Henry disclosed the plot to President Madison. The British government declared it had no knowledge of the affair and placed the blame upon Craig, who had died. Yet the charge was not refuted, and never has been since. It shows representatives of the English government in a conspiracy to disrupt a friendly power. When the facts were given to the American people indignation swept the land and a fresh reason for the war was added to the many others.

When the embargo recommended by President Madison became known the opposition began its protests. They declared that France was quite as aggressive as England in seizing American vessels. In a report to Congress on July 6, 1812, it was shown that England had seized nine hundred and seventeen, of which three hundred and eighty-nine were after the orders in Council of November, 1807. France in the same time had taken three hundred and seven. Besides these there were many Spanish and Dutch seizures, which should be ascribed to France, since both countries were then controlled by Napoleon. About half the captures by England were declared invalid, while less than one-fourth of the French seizures were released. There was, therefore, much truth in the declaration of the opposition that the spoliations of France had been directly and indirectly worse than those of England.

Opposition availed nothing. The embargo act became a law on April 4, 1812, as a preliminary to the actual declaration two months later. On April 14 the embargo act was supplemented by another prohibiting commercial intercourse by land. The sacrifice of American commerce, expressed in terms of money, was $74,010,277, or $6,167,523 a month. A stupendous loss for the business interests of that time. Perhaps they can hardly be blamed for opposing the war.

Thus matters stood, on June 1, when Mr. Madison sent to Congress, according to a previous arrangement with the committee on foreign affairs, a confidential message in which he fairly committed himself to the policy of war. He hesitated before doing so, but a committee headed by the imperious Clay told him that he need not expect re-nomination in the coming Democratic convention if he did not yield to the demands of the dominant party and declare war. He wanted to shirk the responsibility of leading, and declared he would sign a bill, but the advocates of war were determined that he should share whatever of glory or

obloquy might follow the declaration, and insisted upon his initiative. Fearing he could not be re-nominated otherwise, he acquiesced and sent the message.

It went to Congress on June 1, and recapitulated the grounds upon which the conflict was based, pointing out the aggressions of England, which had openly declared its intention of maintaining its supremacy upon the seas, even though the rights of other nations were ruthlessly violated.

John C. Calhoun, as chairman of the committee on Foreign Relations, presented a lengthy report, pointing out England's aggressions more in detail than the President had done. Along with the report he presented a bill declaring war with Great Britain. It was passed on June 4, by a vote of seventy-nine to forty-nine.

On June 5 the bill reached the Senate and was referred to a committee on the President's Message. It was discussed for twelve days. On June 17, the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, it passed by a vote of nineteen to thirteen. On the 18th it was returned to the House for concurrence in a few slight changes. This was voted and at three o'clock on June 18 the bill became a law.

The signing of the bill removed the injunction of secrecy and the next day, June 19, the President issued his proclamation declaring war.

Earnest patriots believed this was a mistake. Chief among them was Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts, whose arguments against it were the ablest of the time. He was cruelly abused by the advocates of war, but he outlived every other member of the Twelfth Congress, the one that authorized it, and many today are constrained to believe that some of his contentions were sound.

The opening months of the year a century ago were, as can be seen, filled with stirring events, upon the issue of which depended the integrity of the nation. The celebration of anniversaries by various organizations formed to commemorate the deeds of those patriots has served to arouse an interest in that war, and its causes, which should bring about a clearer understanding of a somewhat obscure epoch in American history. The War of 1812 was necessary to establish the complete independence of this nation. With its glories all are familiar. Its causes and results are misunderstood by a considerable proportion of Americans. Historians are agreed that no more righteous war was ever waged, and they assert that the United States not only forever established its own independence, but insured freedom from impressment for every seaman, regardless of his nationality. It was the final act in the great drama of liberty which began with Magna Charta and ended with the War of 1812.

II

Very many of the older persons now living will remember that this is the semi-centenary of the year 1862, which was called the year of battles in the Civil War. Re-reading the history of that time leads to numerous interesting conclusions. Of course, it is much easier to say now that a certain movement should have been undertaken and it is easy to criticise, or even condemn, the

generals who were conducting the campaigns of the time. Unless the critic possesses expert military knowledge this course is unwarranted and ungenerous.

The great army under McClellan made its famous attempt to reach Richmond by way of the Yorktown peninsula and failed. And there were other serious failures during the same year. The early months were given over to preparations, which, as the events turned out, were unavailing and were largely waste. This much anyone can see. What should have been done is quite another matter.

The heritage of that time, however, is the memory of the splendid heroism of the men who undertook to capture the Confederate capital. Nor should those who defended it be forgotten. The bravery of both is one of the most glorious pages in American history.

Toward the end of the year President Lincoln issued his emancipation proclamation. He found he could not save the Union with slavery. So he wisely determined to save it without. On September 22 the proclamation was issued, to take effect the first of January following. It was the greatest single event of the year. Perhaps the view of some historians is correct, that it was the greatest event in American history, aside from the signing of the Declaration of Independence. It will always mark the year 1862 as memorable in the annals of the nation.

Historically, there are many military achievements of that year which deserve celebration, yet the one great event, the ending of human slavery in the United States, is greater than all.

From this distance it is possible to look back upon it calmly and appreciate its great significance, but the passions of the time made it impossible to understand and there was much bitter criticism of the act, which the resentment of some caused serious disturbances in numerous places. The charge that President Lincoln intended to incite the freed slaves to insurrection proved untrue. And the course of the latter was commendable. They made no change in their attitude or relations until they were freed by the arrival of Union soldiers. Thus the principal difficulties predicted never occurred.

The close of the Revolution insured freedom upon land. The close of the War of 1912 guaranteed freedom upon the sea. The year 1862, with its emancipation proclamation, delivered the slave from bondage upon this continent. It was the third great event in the history of the nation.

GENERAL SHERIDAN REASSEMBLING HIS TROOPS AT CEDAR CREEK, AND ORDERING THEM BACK TO THE FRONT

Gutzon Borglum's splendid bronze-work erected in the City of Washington by the United States Government

CHARLEMAGNE

The Joscelyn-Joslin Family

BY

LAURA ELMENDORF SKEELS

THE FIRST American ancestor of the Joscelyn-Josselin-Joslin family was Thomas Josselin, or Joslin, who, with his wife and children, came from England to Massachusetts in 1635. His descendants have numbered many notable men and women and the family has been, from its beginning here, a typical American line.

But good as is the fine old Colonial stock of the Joscelyns in America, the history of the race does not lead back only into unclarified mists before its advent in this country, as is the case with too many of our eminent families, whose descendants have not as yet learned the wonderfully interesting background of European antecedents which lie behind the achievements of our early American ancestors. The case of the Joscelyns is an instance of a typical American family whose lineage may be traced back through centuries of English gentlehood to the blood of "ancient, far-off kings," and even into the realms of legend, where the ancestry of the American Joscelyns is brought to a Trojan hero for the founder of the line. For Antenor, son of Aesyetes, is claimed as ancestor of Marcomir, chieftain of a tribe later merged in that of the Franks, and Marcomir again is said to have been ancestor of Pharamond, King of the Franks in the Fifth Century. Pharamond's line, in turn, is traced down to Pepin of Heristal, whose son, Charles the Hammer, saved Christian Europe from the infidels. Charles' son, Pepin le Bref, first of the Carlovingian Kings of France, was the father of Charlemagne.

Charlemagne, the greatest monarch of his era, one of those heroic figures of history whose personalities have been vivid enough to impress themselves upon the romance of their own and succeeding ages, is truly an ancestor worthy his American descendants of the Joscelyn family.

The name of Joscelin and its variants is derived from the Chateau de Jocelin, the stronghold of Lambert I, known as Joselin d'Albou, who became Count of Brahant early in the Eleventh Century. His son, Lambert II, married Gerburga, granddaughter of King Louis IV of France, and their son, Gilbertus Joscelinus, as his name appears in the old Latin form, is stated in the following article by Mrs. Skeels to have gone from Brabant to England and to have there founded the illustrious Joscelin family whose descendant came to America in the Seventeenth Century. THE GENEALOGICAL EDITOR.

HE PRIMAL ancestor, so far as the records show, of the family of Joscelin (Jocelin, Josselin, Joslin, etc.) was Aesyetes, born about 1264 B. C., a Trojan of noble family, who, by his wife, Cleomaestra, was the father of Antenor, born about 1239 B. C., who, according to the Homeric account, was not only a Trojan of high rank and one of the wisest among the elders of his native city, but also King of the Cimbri, a people living along the shores of the Black Sea, whose country was a province of Troy. Antenor married Theano, a daughter of the Phrygian Dymos, or, according to another story, of Cisseus. Her sister, Hecuba, was the wife of Priam, the last King of Troy, and mother of Hector and Paris. Theano, according to the Oracles, was begotten and born under the inspiration of the Goddess Minerva, and was consecrated at an early age a Priestess of Athena.

Antenor is claimed as ancestor of Marcomir I, said to have been the first King of the Sigambri, which tribe eventually became incorporated with the Franks.

Pharamond, a descendant of Marcomir I, and Duke of Friesland, was chosen Duke of the Franks in Franconi, April 24th, 418, and, on July 23d, he took the title of King. He married, first, Imbeltrude, daughter of Bassogast; second, Argotto, daughter and heiress of Genebald, and granddaughter of Marcomir V. also a descendant of Marcomir I. Pharamond died in 427, having reigned nine years. Tradition says that he was a descendant in the thirty-seventh generation from Antenor.

Clodion, the successor of Pharamond, was called "Long Locks," because he introduced a custom that those of their blood should wear long hair. He left as his successor his youngest son, Albro, who married Argotta. Their son, Vanburtis, died in 528, leaving as his successor Anselbert, who died in 571, leaving two children. Arnold was the eldest. He was Marquis of a territory near the Scheldt. He married Doda of Saxony, and, after her death, entered the Priesthood and became Bishop of Metz. He died in 640, leaving one son, Ansigise, who married Begga, daughter of Pepin of Lauden, who belonged to a noble Frank family, akin to the Merovingians.

Pepin of Hiristal, son of Ansigise and Begga, was born in 631. He was Mayor of the Palace in Austrasia under Clovis III. He married Chrotrude, and died December 16th, 714. Pepin inherited the whole of the family estates, and held the ancestral office of Mayor of the Palace of Austrasia from 688 until his death. By his wife, Chrotrude, he had four children, the eldest being Charles Martel, born in 690.

Charles Martel had to endure hard struggles in his own family, as well as among the Franks, and against the heathen Frisians, before his position was fully achieved as Mayor of the Palace. But Charles upheld his own dignity, and his

house was soon regarded by the Franks more than that of the Merovingians had ever been.

The Arabs took advantage of a revolt in Aquitania to invade the country of the Franks. Inspired by their new religion, they fled from their desert home and spread over Egypt and North Africa. Thence they attacked and destroyed the Kingdom of the Visigoths or West Goths in 711, and subdued almost all Spain. Then they moved against the Kingdom of the Franks. The contest was to decide whether the Mahommedan civilization of the Arabs was stronger than the Christian civilization of Europe. Charles Martel summoned his feudal vassals. A great battle was fought at Tours in 732. The ground was hotly contested for six days, in which there were three hundred and fifty thousand men slain; but on the seventh day, Charles, thenceforth called "Martel," or the "Hammer," secured the victory, thereby saving Western Christianity and German independence.

Charles was married twice. His first wife was Rotrude; his second wife, Sonochilde. He died October 22d, 741, leaving seven children. Pepin le Bref,—"the Short," born in 714, was his eldest son, and his successor as Mayor of the Palace.

The power of the Merovingian Kings had become nothing but a shadow of royalty and the real government had long been in the hands of the Mayors of the Palace. Pepin the Short was the undisputed ruler of the Franks. He won the friendship of the Pope, Zacharias, and sent to enquire of him, "Who ought rightly to be King, he who sits at home in idleness, or he who bears the toils and dangers of the Government?" The question was answered by the Pope in favor of Pepin, and the latter, therefore, assumed the crown in 752; the principal Bishops of the Kingdom, by authority of the Pope, anointing him, an dthe Franks with enthusiasm elevating him upon the shield. The last of the Merovingians, Childeric III, suffered the loss of his royal locks of hair and secluded himself in a Monastery. Thus a new dynasty was founded by Pepin, aided by the Pope.

Pepin maintained his authority over the Franks with vigor and, although small of stature, he compelled obedience and respect by his firmness and valor until his death, September 18th, 768. His wife was Bertha, daughter of William, Count of Toulouse. She died in 783. Their children were six in number, the eldest being Charles the Great,—Charlemagne, born in 742, at Ingleheim on the Rhine.

Pepin was succeeded by his sons, Charlemagne and Carloman. But the stronger nature of Charlemagne entirely overshadowed his brother during the short time of their joint reign. Carloman died in 770, thus securing to Charlemagne the undivided sovereignty of his kingdom, including the whole of France and Western Germany.

The early part of the reign of Charlemagne is remarkable for the rapid change in the scene and direction of his campaigns. In 775 he conquered the Saxon country, slaughtered all who offered resistance, and devasted the towns

that were not prompt in submission. He crossed the Pyrenes into Spain and subdued the country as far as the Ebro. To the end of his reign he was constantly engaged in war and frequent rebellions broke out in his own dominions.

In the year 800 Charlemagne was crowned by the Pope as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

His son, Pepin, whom he made King of Italy, died in 810. In 813 he associated his son, Louis, with himself, in the rule of the Empire.

Charlemagne established churches, monasteries, and schools, and encouraged learning. arts, and civilization. His views were liberal and enlightened. His Empire extended from the ocean eastward to the Vistula. On the south it reached to the Ebro in Spain and Benevento in Italy. His fame spread to all countries. He died at Aix-la-Chapelle, the 28th of January, 814, leaving a great reputation as a statesman, legislator, and as the founder of the Empire. His decendants were denominated Carlovingians, and constituted the second dynasty of French Kings.

Charlemagne married, first, Desiderata, daughter of Desideratus, King of the Lombards. He married, second, Hildegarde, daughter of Childebrand. She was the mother of his children, who were nine in number.

Louis I, third son of Charlemagne, born in 778, was called Louis le Debonnaire. He succeeded his father in 814. His Kingdom included France, Germany, the Netherlands, part of Italy, part of Hungary, and part of Spain. He first married Hermengarde, daughter of Ingram, Count of Hasbania, and had five children. He married, second, Judith, daughter of Guelph, Count of Altorp, by whom he a son, Charles II, born in 823. Louis died in Ingleheim, June 20th, 840.

Charles II, son of Louis le Debonnaire, born in 823, succeeded his father in 840. He fought the Battle of Fontenoy with his elder brother, Lothaire, Emperor of Germany, in which the latter was defeated. Charles fought with his brother, Louis, King of Bavaria, for the crown of France, and conquered him also. He was crowned King of France by Pope John VII, in 875. He was twice married; first to Hermentrude, daughter of Odo, Count of Orleans. By her he had six children. Charles II died in a hut on Mount Cenis on his way to Italy, October 13th, 877.

Louis II, his second son, known as "The Stammerer," succeeded as King of France. His reign was short and uneventful. He married twice. His first wife was Ansegarde, by whom he had two sons. The elder son, Louis III, succeeded, but died in 882, leaving no issue. The second wife of Louis II was Adelaide, who was the mother of Charles III, afterwards King of France. Louis II died in 879, after reigning only two years.

Charles III, "the Simple," was the youngest son of Louis II, and Adelaide, his wife. During his reign Normandy was lost to France, being ceded by Charles II, to Rollo, a Norman chief, who had married his daughter, Gissela.

At this time the great fiefs were increased and their chiefs became very

LOUIS I, EMPEROR OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
He was the son of Charlemagne, and an ancestor of the American Joslins

LOUIS IV, KING OF FRANCE
The son of Charles III, "The Simple," and one of the many royal ancestors of the Joscelyn-Joslin family

powerful. The dukes of the provinces and the governors of the cities appropriated to themselves what they formerly held under the Crown. Charles was finally dethroned and kept a prisoner by Herbert II in the Castle of Peronne, until his death in 929.

He married First, Fredurema, a peasant girl, by whom he had no children. He married, second, Edgifa, daughter of Edward the Elder, King of England, by whom he had four children, the eldest being Louis IV.

Louis IV, born in 921, the only son of Charles III, and Edgifa, of England, succeeded Raoul, Duke of Burgundy, in the rule of France. He was educated in England, at the court of his uncle, Athelstan, brother of his mother, Edgifa, and thereby won the title of "Outremer,"—"Beyond the Sea." His wife was Gerburga, daughter of Henry I.

His second son, Charles, Duke of Lorraine, was born at Laon in 943 and succeeded to the sovereignty of the Province of Lorraine, which he held until deposed by his cousin, Hugh Capet, the Count of Paris, who imprisoned him at Orleans, where he died in 994. He was married about 965 to Bonne, daughter of Godefrey le Vieil, Count of Ardennes. The children born of this marriage were Otho, who succeeded to the estates of his father; Ermengarde, who married the Earl of Namur; and Gerburga, espoused by Lambert II, count of Lorraine and Brabant, who was slain in the Battle of Florimel in 1015. Gerburga died in 1025. From this marriage has descended a long and illustrious line of Dukes, Counts, and Barons of France.

Upon the division of the possessions of Duke Charles, after his death, among him three children, among other estates received by his daughter, Gerburga, was that which near a thousand years later became the historic Field of Waterloo.

Lambert I, or Joselin d'Albou, the father of Gerburga's husband, Lambert II, lived in the Chateau de Joselin in Brabant as early as 980. He became Count of Brabant in 1005, and died September 12th, 1015. Lambert II succeeded as Count of Brabant. He inherited the Castle with all its domains, and, with Gerburga, his wife, resided there at the time of his death.

A son of Lambert II, and Gerburga, named Gilbertus or Aegedius Joscelinus, born in the Chateau de Jocelin about 1005, went into England with Edward the Confessor in 1042 and settled at Sempringham, in the County of Lincoln. No record has yet been found of the marriage of this Gilbertus, but that he had a son, Gilbertus (Galfridus) Joscelinus, whom he sent back to France to acquire an education, and who returned to England with William the Conqueror in 1066, are facts fully attested by records in Church and Government archives. To this son descended the vast landed possessions of his father in Lincolnshire and adjoining counties.

Gilbertus (Galfridus) Joscelinus married a Saxon lady, the daughter of a Thane, and frequent reference is found to his two sons, Gilbertus and Geoffrey, born in 1083 and 1085, respectively.

In 1554 Sir Thomas Jocelyn purchased of Sir William Stafford that historic baronial estate known as High Roding, County Essex, in possession of which he died in 1562. This domain was held in the Jocelyn family for about two hundred years. The Mansion of this estate was a large house with a court and a chapel. In the windows of the hall and parlor there were several Coats-of-Arms.

Sir Thomas Jocelyn was Privy Councillor of Queen Mary in 1554. His will is recorded, under date of 1564, in the Canterbury Prerogative Court.

There is also there recorded the will of his widow, "Dame Dorothy," proved in 1582.

Henry Joselyn, fifth son of Sir Thomas, married Anne, daughter and heiress of Humphrey Torrell, or Tyrell, of Torrell's Hall in Essex. He became seated there. He had six sons and six daughters.

His second son, Thomas, married a widow, Dorothy Scott, daughter of John Frank of Hatfield, Broad-Oak, Essex. It seems from the following record that a special dispensation was required to authorize their marriage.

"Marriage License, Thomas Joselyn—

"An act removing sentence of ex-communication against Thomas Joslyn, of Willingdale Doe, Co. Essex, Gentleman, and Dorothy his wife, widow of George Scott of Hatfield Broak Oak, said County, deceased. They having been married clandestinely at the house of her father, John Frank, in Hatfield Broad Oak aforesaid. October 15th, 1590."

This Thomas Jocelyn was a Knight of the Bath, and was appointed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, September 2d, 1639, a member of the Commission to organize and provide a government for the Colony of Maine, in America. Sir Thomas refused to act and a new Commission was formed in which, instead of Sir Thomas, his son, Henry (by his second wife, Theodora Cook), was given a place.

Thomas Jocelyn, or Joslin, eldest son of Sir Thomas, by his first wife, Dorothy, was born about 1591. He sailed from London, in the good ship *Increase,* April 17th, 1635, for the Colony of Massachusetts, with his wife, Rebecca, five of their children, and a servant, Eliza Ward. The children accompanying him were: Rebecca, aged eighteen; Dorothy, aged eleven; Nathaniel, aged eight; Elizabeth, aged six; and Mary, aged one year. His sons, Abraham and Joseph, born, respectively, in 1619 and 1621, appear to have been left by their father at the Corpus Christi School in London, and no notice of their being in this country is found prior to 1637.

Thomas Joslin first took up his abode at Sudbury, Massachusetts, and then lived at Hingham for a few years, after which he removed to Watertown, where he resided until 1653, when, with Nathaniel and the other members of the family, he joined with a few others and settled in the Valley of the "Neishaway," afterwards Lancaster, Massachusetts. The records show that Thomas Joslin and Nathaniel, his son, signed the first agreement or covenant for a local government at Lancaster, September 12th, 1654.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

Gilbertus (Galfridus) Joscelinus, grandson of Count Lambert II of Brabant, was the first of the family born in England. He was sent to France to be educated, and returned with the Normans under William in 1066

ABBEY DU BEC
Gilbertus Joscelinus was lord of the castle and lands of Le Bec in Normandy

Thomas Joslin died at Lancaster in 1660, leaving a will, recorded at Cambridge. His widow, Rebecca, was executrix of his estate. She married in 1664 William Kelsey.

No apology need be extended, but rather pride felt and expressed by any descendant of Thomas Joslin, in speaking of his family. His descendants are a multitude, more numerous perhaps in female than in male lines, in Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and throughout the great Central West. They comprise Governors, United States Senators, members of Congress, Senators and Representatives in State Legislatures, Judges, lawyers, physicians, and prominent, progressive men in all walks of life.

As to the relationship existing between him and Henry Josselyn, so noted in the Colonial annals of Maine, and John Josselyn the scholar and traveler, there has been much variant speculation and discussion. Henry and John were brothers and were sons of Sir Thomas Josselyn of Essex and Kent, England, by his second wife (Theodora Cook). According to authentic records available it is established that Thomas, the Massachusetts Colonist, was a son of Sir Thomas by his first wife, Dorothy Frank. That there was a relationship, and that a close one, is fully demonstrated from the facts that Henry and Abraham, a son of Thomas, lived near each other at Scarborough, Maine, witnessed deeds for each other and their wives also; and Abraham named his eldest son Henry. Neither Henry nor John Josselyn left any children. So the Joscelyns (Joslin, etc.) of today, residing in the United States, are all descendants of Thomas Joslin.

Rebecca, the eldest child of Thomas Joslin, married Thomas Nichols, and died in Hingham, Massachusetts, September 22d, 1675.

Abraham, the first son and second child of Thomas, married Beatrice Lampson, daughter of Phillip Lampson, of London, England. They lived at Scarborough, Maine, Hingham, Massachusetts, then at Lancaster, and afterwards at Stow, Massachusetts. He died July 9th, 1670. His widow in 1671 married Sergent Robert Bosworth of Hull.

Abraham, the son of Abraham Joslin and Beatrice Lampson, was born April 8th, 1649. He married Ann ———, at Lancaster, September 29th, 1672. He was killed in a fight with the Indians at Lancaster, February 15th, 1675, and in the following September his wife and daughter, not then two years old, were captured by the Indians and afterwards killed. His house "on the Neck" (near Boston) was converted into a garrison during King Philip's War.

Joseph, the second son of Thomas and Rebecca Joslin, married, and had a daughter, Beatrice. He died in Hingham, October 17th, 1649, aged 73 years.

Elizabeth, the third daughter of Thomas, married Edward Yeomans at Boston, June 21st, 1652, and left a large family.

Mary, the youngest child of Thomas and Rebecca Joslin, married Deacon Roger Sumner, in 1655, at Lancaster, to which union in direct line is traced the lineage of Charles Sumner, for over two decades a leader in the National Congress and Massachusetts' most distinguished citizen.

The Hanover Records state that Thomas Joslin of Hanover married Ann Stockbridge of Scituate, June 1st, 1732. She was born May 31st, 1710, and was the daughter of Thomas Stockbridge, who was called in the Church Records Ensign Thomas. He was the son of Charles, son of John Stockbridge, the Colonist.

The children of Thomas Joslin by his wife, Ann Stockbridge, were nine in number. The fourth child, a son, named Stockbridge Joslin, was born March 29th, 1741, and died May 10th, 1818. He married, November 24th, 1768, Olive Standish, who was born May 29th, 1748, and who died September 10th, 1803. She was the daughter of David and Hannah (Magoun) Standish, son of Thomas and Mary (Carmo) Standish, son of Alexander and Disen (Doty) Standish, son of Captain Myles Standish of the *Mayflower*.

Stockbridge Joslin and Olive (Standish) Joslin, his wife, were the parents of nine children. The eldest daughter, Olive, was born November 10th, 1769. She married April 28th, 1793, the Honorable William Brown Slocum, born in Middletown, Newport County, Rhode Island, April 26th, 1770.

Their son, the Honorable Joseph Slocum, was born in Schaghticoke Township, Rensselaer County, New York, in 1800. He married in Cambridge, New York, May 4th, 1825, Margaret Pierson Jermain, daughter of Sylvanus P. and Margaret (Pierson) Germain, formerly of Sag Harbor, Long Island, where she (Margaret) was born March 4th, 1804. Mr. Slocum settled in Syracuse, New York. He died in 1863.

The daughter of Joseph and Margaret Slocum, Margaret Olivia Slocum, born September 8th, 1828, married Mr. Russell Sage.

There are but few of equal and none of greater length among the ancestral lines of American families than the Joslin line. And such a lineage. It should be the pride and inspiration of those whose rich heritage it is, reaching back almost to the struggling dawn of Asiatic civilization, twelve hundred and sixty-four years before the Star of Bethlehem appeared to the gaze of the Shepherds. Along this line in proud and powerful array are marshalled Kings and Emperors, Dukes, Earls, Counts, and Barons, statesmen and scholars, priests and patriots, Princes with royal domains and sturdy yeomanry with humble belongings, Lord Mayors and upright citizens, travelers and teachers, philanthropists and pioneers, the founders of States and the builders of homes, and withall manly men and womanly women, whose talents and virtues, whose graces and culture, have ennobled the world's manhood and womanhood.

"To read a genealogy," says a late writer, "may be to a thinking and reflecting mind, like walking in a cemetery, and reading the inscriptions on the grave stones. Each of the names in the table of one, or on the stone in the other, is the memorial—perhaps the only memorial—of a human heart that once lived and loved; a heart that kept its pulsations through some certain period of times and then ceased to beat, and has mouldered into dust. Each had its joys and sorrows, its cares and burdens, its afflictions and hopes, its conflicts and achievements, its

CHATEAU DE JOCELIN, BRABANT
Here lived in the Middle Ages the ancestors of the Joscelyn-Joslin family

A MODERN ROOM IN THE CHATEAU DE JOCELIN

opportunities wasted or improved, and its hour of death. Each of these dates of birth, marriage, death, oh how significant! What a day was each of these dates to some human family or to some circle of loving, human hearts! And the presence of death drives the mind to thoughts of immortality. Memorials of the dead are memorials not of death alone, but of life also. They died, therefore they had lived. And as the mind thinks of the dead gathered to their fathers, it can not but think of the unseen worlds which they inhabit.

"All these names are memorials of human spirits that have passed from time to eternity, ready or unprepared; in youth or maturity of manhood; in childhood or in old age; they went into eternity as we are going."

"So, beyond the river of time that flows between, walk the brave men and the beautiful women of our ancestry, grouped in twilight upon the shores. Distance smooths away defects, and with gentle darkness rounds every form into grace. It steals the harshness from their speech, and every word becomes a song. Far across the gulf that ever widens they look upon us with eyes whose glance is tender, and which light us to success. We acknowledge our inheritance, we accept our birthright, we own that their careers have pledged us to noble action. Every great life is an incentive to all other lives."

The New Jersey Home of Baron Steuben

WILLIAM R. HEARST has acquired another historic piece of property, which, while it does not rank in importance with the Lincoln farm, is still well worth preserving. He now owns the house which the State of New Jersey gave to Baron Steuben in 1781 as the State's share of the payment for drilling the Continental army.

It is a beautiful Dutch homestead, built by Abram Zabriskie in 1735. The builder was a Tory and his estate was confiscated. New Jersey, not knowing any better way to dispose of it, give it to Baron Steuben. But New York was even more liberal and gave him a much larger and finer estate near Utica. The New Jersey property the Baron never occupied. Perhaps he never saw it. After the Revolution the New Jersey legislature passed an act enabling him to sell it. The original owner bought it for six thousand dollars.

The house is one of the best examples in existence of early Dutch domestic architecture. It is stone, with a brick gable, story and a half, with gambrel roof and curved eaves, both characteristically Dutch.

In the cellar is a dungeon where slaves were punished, and extending through the house from side to side is a raised platform to which stairs ascend from each outside door.

Abram Zabriskie, the builder, was a millwright and owned one of the four tide mills on the Hackensack River. The stones with which he ground his neighbors' grain two hundred years ago are still preserved. One was taken from the bed of the stream, where it has laid for more than a century, last year. They are of French buhr and cost at that time four hundred dollars. Similar ones can be bought now for forty dollars.

All the brick used by the early colonists in Jersey were imported from Barbadoes or Holland. Zabriskie discovered that suitable clay could be mined on his premises and early established a plant for making brick, the first in New Jersey —possibly the first in America.

Mr. Hearst intends keeping the house and will maintain it just as it is. It is in good repair and is occupied. Few know that Baron Steuben owned property in New Jersey. It is popularly supposed that his possessions were limited to his Utica estate. But the legislative records are plain. Since he sold it back to its original owner it has been continuously in one family, until a short time ago when Mr. Hearst acquired it as a part of some other property he took over. A proposition is under consideration to open it as a museum.

A Love-Letter of 1756

A Charming Epistle Redolent With the Breath of Romance of the Olden Time & Contributed to The Journal of American History by the Great-Great-Grandson of the Writer

BY

FRANCIS TOWNSEND UNDERHILL

I COULD NOT my Dear Molley (without being guilty of the highest degree of Ingratitude) omit this opportunity of Writing to one who had so great an Esteem for one as to think me worthy of the first Place in her affections; and who Expressed so great, and tender a Concern for my wellfair, as you did, when I last saw you; I had a short and Pleasant passage to this Place and am now in a good State of Health, as my Sincear'st wishes is these may find you; I am Sorry to tell you, that, I do not Expect to see you before next Summer; My affairs here being likely to Detain me longer than I Expected when I Left Long Island; I beg my Dear Molley that you will not Impute my Continuing here so long to a Coldness, or aleniation in my affections, for I can truly assure you, that my Love is no ways Impaired by absence, and I have so great an opinion of, and Esteem for your Person; & Virtues; and my affection is so firmly Centered on you, that it is Impossible for time, or Absence, to remove or Deminish them; What gives me the greatest Uneasiness, is that I am obliged to be so long absent from you, and no Probability of hearing from you while I am here; Excuse me my dear Molley for Reminding you of the Fidelity that we have Mutually Promised each other; Altho I have no Reason to Doubt of the Sincerity of your Love yet I must acknowledge to you, that when I Consider of your merit, and my absence I cannot Keep the thoughts of a Rival out of my Breast; and Notwithstanding I Imagine your Love is as truly fixt as mine, Yet the threats, and Entreaties of Friends, and such as says they are, and are not; I am sensable with some (tho I hope I may Exclude you out of ye Number) would Induce them, to Persue Measures Contrary to their Inclinations; Allow me Dear Molley, to mention to you a Couple of Lines that I have met with some where in the Course of my reading and to Recommend them to you, they are these

'Let no dire threats, no Kind Entreaties move
'To give thy Person where thou Canst not Love

May the Protectres of Virgin Innocence be with you; with the greatest sincerity,

and warmth of Affection, I most tenderly Salute you; and am my Dear Molley Imutably.

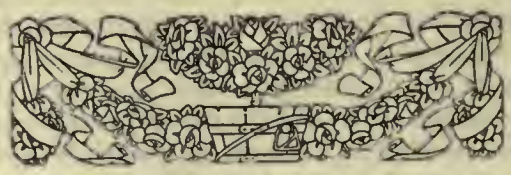
Yours

Ja^{s} Townsend

P. S. my best Respects
to y^{r} uncle & aunts,
to Polley Willit & to
all Enqurers in General

Bay of Honduras y^{e} 14th March
1756 I. Townsend

For ——
Mary Hicks
These



Patriotism, Its Duty and Value

BY

ARCHBISHOP IRELAND

Address Delivered Before the New York Commandery of the Loyal Legion. Offered for Permanent Record in The Journal of American History Through the Courtesy of the Columbus Press

TO SPEAK of patriotism is my evening's task. An easy and gracious one it ought to be. Patriotism is personified in my audience. The honor is mine to address the country's heroes, the country's martyrs. At country's call you quickly buckled your armor on, and rushing where battle raged, you offered for country's life the life-blood of your hearts. Many of you bear upon limb and face the sacred stigmata of patriotism. Your tried hands are doubly pledged in purest unselfishness and bravest resolve to uphold in the reign of peace the loved flag which in days of war they carried over glory fields above stain or reproach. I could not, if I would, close the portals of my soul to the rich and sweet inspirations which come to me from your souls.

I shall define patriotism as you understand and feel it. Patriotism is love of country, and loyalty to its life and weal—love tender and strong; tender as the love of son for mother, strong as the pillars of death; loyalty generous and disinterested, shrinking from no sacrifice, seeking no reward save country's honor and country's triumph.

II

BEAUTY AND VALUE OF PATRIOTISM

Patriotism! There is magic in the word. It is bliss to repeat it. Through ages the human race burnt the incense of admiration and reverence at the shrines of patriotism. The most beautiful pages of history are those which count its deeds. Fireside tales, the outpourings of the memories of peoples, borrow from it their warmest glow. Poets are sweetest when they re-echo its whisperings; orators are most potent when they thrill its chords to music.

Pagan nations were wrong when they made gods of their noblest patriots. But the error was the excess of a great truth; that heaven unites with earth in approving and blessing patriotism, that patriotism is one of earth's highest virtues, worthy to have come down from the atmosphere of the skies.

The exalted patriotism of the exiled Hebrew exhaled itself in a canticle of religion which Jehovah inspired, and which has been transmitted, as the inheritance of God's people, to the Christian Church: "Upon the rivers of Babylon, there we sat and wept, when we remembered Sion. . . . If I forgot thee, O Jerusa-

lem, let my right hand be forgotten. Let my tongue cleave to my jaws, if I do not remember thee, if I do not make Jerusalem the beginning of my joy."

The human race pays homage to patriotism, because of its supreme value. The value of patriotism to a people is above gold and precious stones, above commerce and industry, above citadels and war-ships. Patriotism is the vital spark of national honor; it is the fount of the nation's prosperity, the shield of the nation's safety. Take patriotism away: the nation's soul has fled, bloom and beauty have vanished from the nation's countenance.

The human race pays homage to patriotism because of its supreme loveliness. Patriotism goes out to what is among earth's possessions the most precious, the first and best and dearest—country; and its effusion is the fragrant flowering of the purest and noblest sentiments of the heart.

Patriotism is innate in all men; the absence of it betokens a perversion of human nature; but it grows its full growth only where thoughts are elevated and heart-beatings are generous.

Next to God is country, and next to religion is patriotism. No praise goes beyond its deserts. It is sublime in its heroic oblation upon the field of battle. "O glorious is he," exclaims in Homer the Trojan warrior, "who for his country falls!" It is sublime in the oft-repeated toil of dutiful citizenship. "Of all human doings," writes Cicero, "none is more honorable and more estimable than to merit well of the commonwealth."

III

COUNTRIES ARE OF DIVINE APPOINTMENT

Countries are of divine appointment. The Most High "divided the nations, separated the sons of Adam, and appointed the bounds of peoples." The physical and moral necessities of God's creatures are revelations of His will and laws. Man is born a social being. A condition of his existence and of his growth to mature age is the family. Nor does the family suffice to itself. A larger social organism is needed, into which families gather, so as to obtain from one another security to life and property, and aid in the development of the faculties and powers with which nature has endowed the children of men. The whole human race is too extensive and too diversified in interests to serve those ends: hence its sub-divisions into countries or people. Countries have their providential limits—the waters of a sea, a mountain range, the lines of similarity of requirements, or of methods of living. The limits widen in space according to the measure of the destinies which the great Ruler allots to peoples, and the importance of their parts in the mighty work of the cycles of years, the ever-advancing tide of humanity's evolution. The Lord is the God of nations, because He is the God of men. No nation is born into life or vanishes back into nothingness without His bidding. I believe in the providence of God over countries as I believe in His wisdom and

His love, and my patriotism to my country rises within my soul invested with the halo of my religion to my God.

IV

OUR OWN COUNTRY

More than a century ago a trans-Atlantic poet and philosopher, reading well the signs, wrote:

> "Westward the star of empire takes its way.
> The first four acts already past,
> A fifth shall close the drama with the day:
> Time's noblest offspring is the last."

Berkeley's prophetic eye had described America. What shall I say in a brief discourse of my country's value and beauty, of her claims to my love and loyalty? I will pass by in silence her fields and forests, her rivers and seas, the boundless riches hidden beneath her soil and amid the rocks of her mountains, her pure and health-giving air, her transcendent wealth of nature's fairest and most precious gifts. I will not speak of the noble qualities and robust deeds of her sons, skilled in commerce and industry, valorous in war, prosperous in peace. In all these things America is opulent and great; but beyond them and above them is her singular grandeur, to which her material splendor is only the fitting circumstance.

America born into the family of nations in these latter times is the highest billow in humanity's evolution, the crowning effort of ages in the aggrandizement of man. Unless we take her in this altitude we do not comprehend her; we belittle her towering stature, and conceal the singular design of Providence in her creation.

V

THE COUNTRY OF HUMAN DIGNITY

America is the country of human dignity and human liberty.

When the fathers of the Republic declared: "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," a cardinal principal was enunciated, which in its truth was as old as the race, but in practical realization almost unknown.

Slowly, amid sufferings and revolutions, humanity had been reaching out toward a reign of the rights of man. Ante-Christian paganism had utterly denied such rights. It allowed nothing to man as man; he was what wealth, place, or power made him. Even the wise Aristotle taught that some men were intended by nature to be slaves and chattels. The sweet religion of Christ proclaimed aloud the doctrine of the common fatherhood of God, and the universal brother-

hood of men. Eighteen hundred years, however, went by, and the civilized world had not yet put its civil and political institutions in accord with its spiritual faith. The Christian Church was all this time leavening human society, and patiently awaiting the promised fermentation. This came at last, and it came in America. It came in a first manifestation through the Declaration of Independence; it came in a second and final manifestation through President Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation.

In America all men are civilly and politically equal; all have the same rights; all wield the same arm of defence and of conquest, the suffrage; and the sole condition of rights and of power is simple manhood.

VI

THE COUNTRY OF LIBERTY

Liberty is the exemption from all restraint save that of the laws of justice and order; the exemption from submission to other men, except as they represent and enforce those laws. The divine gift of liberty to man is God's recognition of his greatness and his dignity. The sweetness of life and the power of growth lie in liberty. The loss of liberty is the loss of light and sunshine, the loss of life's best portion. Humanity, under the spell of heavenly memories, never ceased to dream of liberty, and to aspire to its possession. Now and then, here and there, its refreshing breezes caressed humanity's brow. But not until the Republic of the West was born, not until the star-spangled banner rose toward the skies, was liberty caught up in humanity's embrace, and embodied in a great and abiding nation.

In America the government takes from the liberty of the citizen only so much as is necessary for the weal of the nation, which the citizen by his own act freely concedes. In America there are no masters, who govern in their own right, for their own interest, or at their own will. We have over us no Louis XIV saying: "L'état c'est moi"; no Hohenzollern, announcing that in his acts as sovereign he is responsible only to his conscience and to God. Ours is the government of the people, by the people, and for the people. The government is our own organized will.

VII

THERE IS NO STATE ABOVE OR APART FROM THE PEOPLE

Rights begin with, and go upward from the people. In other countries, even those apparently the most free, rights begin with and come downward from the State. The rights of citizens, the rights of the people, are concessions which have been painfully wrenched from the governing powers. With Americans, whenever the organized government does not prove its grant, the liberty of the individual citizen is sacred and inviolable. Elsewhere there are governments called republics; universal suffrage constitutes the State; but once constituted the State

is tyrannous and arbitrary, and invades at will private rights, and curtails at will individual liberty. One Republic is liberty's native home—America.

The God-given mission of the Republic of America is not only to its own people: it is to all the peoples of the earth, before whose eyes it is the symbol of human rights and human liberty, toward whom its flag flutters hopes of future happiness for themselves.

Is there not for Americans a meaning to the word, Country? Is there not for Americans reason to live for country, and, if need there be, to die for country? Is there not joy in the recollection that you have been her saviours, and glory in the name of America's "Loyal Legion"? Whatever the country, patriotism is a duty: in America the duty is thrice sacred.

VIII

A DUTY OF JUSTICE AND OF GRATITUDE

The duty of patriotism is the duty of justice and of gratitude. The country fosters and protects our dearest interests—our altars and hearthstones—pro aris et focis. Without it there is no safety for life or property, no opportunities of development and progress. All that the country is, she makes ours. We are wise of her wisdom, rich of her opulence, resplendent of her glory, strong of her fortitude. At once the prisoner Paul rose to eminence, and obtained respect from Palestinian Jews and Roman soldiers, when he proudly announced that he was a citizen of Rome—Civis Romanus. And today how significant, the world over, are the words: I am a citizen of America—Civis Americanus!

Duty to country is a duty of conscience, a duty to God. For country exists by natural divine right. It receives from God the authority needful for its life and work: its authority to command is divine. The apostle of Christ to the gentiles writes: "There is no power but from God, and those that are, are ordained of God. Therefore, he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God." The religion of patriotism is not sufficiently considered: and yet, it is this religion which gives to country its majesty, and to patriotism its sacredness and force.

IX

NEXT TO GOD IS COUNTRY

As the part to the whole, so is the citizen to the country; and this relation is the due measure of patriotism. The country and its interests are paramount to the citizen and his interests. A king of France, St. Louis, set to his device this motto: "Dieu, la France, et Marguerite." It told the order of allegiance: God first, next to God country, next to country family, one's self the last—the willing and generous chevalier, even unto death, of family, country, and God.

Allegiance to country is limited only by allegiance to God. God and his eternal laws of justice and righteousness are supreme, and hold first claims upon conscience. A country which exacts the violation of those laws, annuls its own

moral authority and becomes an aggregation of human wills, which physical force alone sustains. "To God, that which is God's; to Cæsar, that which is Cæsar's." In olden paganism the State arrogated to itself supremacy in ethics as in temporals, and ruled consciences. Under this tyranny of the soul freedom's last ray vanished; the last vestige of human dignity was effaced. Christ made men free; He brought back the State to its proper orbit; and, restoring truth upon earth, He restored manhood to man, and to country the effulgence of the skies.

X

THE SUPREME TEST OF PATRIOTISM

It is fortunate for a people that from time to time supreme emergencies arise testing its patriotism to the highest pitch. If patriotism remains dormant for a long period it may lessen in strength, while the reflection and self-consciousness which resolute action awakens result in a fuller estimate of the value of the country and institutions which it is the duty of patriotism to defend.

A supreme emergency did arise for the people of America.

There had been, indeed, patriotism intense and sublime in the Revolutionary war, when

> "In their ragged regimentals
> Stood the old Continentals,
> Yielding not."

But had this patriotism survived? Notable changes had come over the country. The population had been made much more eclectic; commerce and industry, usually unpropitious to sentiment and exaltation of soul, had engrossed the public mind; the spirit of democracy, in its workings toward individualism of character, might have unfitted the citizen for sacrifice in behalf of the general weal. I was in Europe when the Civil war broke out, and I well remember the tone of the public press regarding the American situation. It was asserted that patriotism was unknown to Americans, and that a free government like ours, compelled to rely upon volunteer service, could not muster a large army of defenders. The proclamation of President Lincoln calling for 75,000 soldiers was received as the venturesome act of despair, and a quick dissolution of the Union was prophesied. At home there were not a few whose thoughts were those of the unfriendly Europeans.

On the morning of the twelfth day of April, in the memorable year of 1861, a cannon-ball swept over the waters of Charleston harbor, aimed with deadly intent at the star-spangled banner, floating above the walls of Sumter. War was declared against the country.

XI

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WAR

How much there was at stake! Scarcely can we at this moment recall without trepidation the awful significance of the contest.

At stake was the union of the State, the strength and life of the country. What constitutes each State, from the Atlantic waters to those of the Pacific, strong, hopeful, palpitating with giant life and ready for giant progress? This only fact: that the States are one nation, and that, at home and abroad, one flag symbolizes them. A northern republic, a southern republic, a western republic—the nations would despise them. The Republic of the United States—the nations fear and honor it.

At stake was the plenary recognition of human rights in our own country. In contradiction of the Declaration of Independence, men were held as slaves—forsooth, because of color; in practice, America had failed as yet to be the ideal country of manhood and human dignity. Had rebellion triumphed, slavery would have been confirmed, and the Declaration of Independence formally and permanently belied.

At stake was liberty for the world, the stability of a government of the people, for the people, and by the people. The Union disrupted, its shattered fragments prostrate over the land, as the broken and desolate columns of once famous temples in Grecian and Roman regions, Liberty, shrieking over the ruins, would have hastened back to caverns of gloom, her friends abandoning hope, her enemies rejoicing and confident. The death of the Union implied a century of retrogression for humanity.

Deep and soul-dending was the ceaseless anxiety of freedom's sons during the dreary years of America's civil war. At every rising of the morning sun the heavens were questioned:

> "O say, can you see by the dawn's early light
> What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming?
>
> "O say, does that star-spangled banner yet wave
> O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?"

O God of nations! we, this evening, thank thee: all was well: American patriotism was on guard: and the day came when, at Appomattox, one flag unfurled its beauteous folds over both contending armies:

> " 'Tis the star-spangled banner: O long may it wave
> O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!"

XII

THE RESULTS OF THE WAR

Two things in our Civil war amazed the world—one, the number and cour-

age of our volunteer soldiers; the other, the ability of the commanders. In other countries large standing armies, years of careful training for men and officers, are the prerequisites of successful warfare. In America the chief executive of the Republic waves his wand, and armies spring up as by incantation. One motive rules them, the saving of the country; they are most daring in deed; the leadership is most skilful. The records of their battle are studied in wonderment by famed warriors of Europe. Especially did the skilled leadership in our armies astonish Europeans. I met recently in Paris a well-known general of Russia; he said: "War is a science of high degree; at the commencement of the contest the government of the United States had at its disposal only a handful of trained officers; the war, moreover, was to offer in its varied operations unusual difficulties; and yet the command throughout the vast army was admirable in skill of planning and execution."

Great the sacrifices which the war in defence of the country demanded! But great the results! No one now doubts that America is patriotic, and that a free people may be relied upon to defend its country. The United States is respected by the nations of the world: they remember what it was capable of when divided; they understand what it is capable of when united. The victory of the Union brought peace and prosperity to conquerors and to conquered: today the conquered rejoice no less than the conquerors that the old flag has not lost one star from its azure ground. The seal of finality has been set upon the Nation, the God of battle ending disputes, and deciding that we are a nation one and indestructible. Slavery has been blotted out, and the escutcheon of free America is cleansed of blemish. Liberty is without peril in her chosen home, and from America's shores she sends her fragrant breathings across seas and oceans. The quickened march of republicanism and democracy which the present times witness through the southern continent of America, and through Europe, goes out from the great heart of the triumphant Republic of the United States.

The sacrifices! Each one of you, companions, says in truth: "Quorum pars magna fui." The results! They are yours, since the sacrifices were yours which purchased them. This great nation is your especial belonging: you saved it by the libation of your blood. By you the star-spangled banner was guarded, at the peril of your life, in its hour of trial; let others love it and seek its smiles: they cannot have for it your passion, and, were speech allowed it, accents of sweetness would flow out to you which others should not hear.

XIII

PATRIOTISM IN TIME OF PEACE

The days of peace have come upon our fair land: the days when patriotism was a duty have not departed. What was saved by war must be preserved.

A government of the people, by the people, and for the people, as proposed by the founders of the Republic, was, in the light of the facts of history, a stupen-

dous experiment. The experiment has so far succeeded. A French publicist, De Maistre, once dismissed with contempt the argument drawn from the United States in favor of free institutions in Europe, remarking: "The Republic of the United States is in its swathing-clothes; let it grow: wait a century and you will see." The Republic has lived out a century, it has lived out a mighty civil war, with no diminution, assuredly, of vigor and promise. Can we say, however, that it is beyond all the stages of an experiment? The world at large is not willing to grant this conclusion: it tells us, even, that the Republic is but now entering upon its crucial crisis. New conditions, indeed, confront us: new perils menace us, in a population bordering on the hundredth million and prepared quickly to leap beyond this figure, in plethoric and unwieldy urban conglomerations, in that unbridled luxury of living consequent on vast material prosperity, which in all times is a dreaded foe to liberty. It were reckless folly on our part to deny all force to the objections which are put to us.

Meanwhile, the destinies of numerous peoples are in the balance. They move toward liberty, as liberty is seen to reign and undisturbed in America; they recede toward absolutism and hereditary régimes, as clouds are seen darkening our sky. Civil, political, social happenings of America are watched, the world over, with intense anxiety, because of their supposed bearings upon the question of the practicability of popular government. A hundred times the thought pressed itself upon me, as I discussed in foreign countries the modern democracy, that, could Americans understand how much is made to depend upon the outcome of Republican and Democratic institutions in their country, a new fire of patriotism, a new zeal in the welfare of the Republic, would kindle within their hearts.

For my part, I have unwavering faith in the Republic of America. I have faith in the providence of God and the progress of humanity: I will not believe that liberty is not a permanent gift, and it were not if America fail. I have faith in the powerful and loyal national heart of America, which clings fast to liberty, and sooner or later rights wrongs and uproots evil. I have no fears. Clouds cross the heavens: soon a burst of sunlight dispels them. Different interests in society are out of joint with one another, and the social organism is feverish: it is simply the effort toward new adjustments; in a little while there will be order and peace. Threatening social and political evils are near, and are seemingly gaining ground: the American people are conservatively patient: but ere long the national heart is roused and the evils, however formidable be their aspect, go down before the tread of an indignant people.

XIV

DANGERS TO A GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE

The safety of the Republic lies in the vigilant and active patriotism of the American people.

There is a danger in the ignorance of voters. As a rule, the man who does

not read and write intelligently, cannot vote intelligently. Americans understand the necessity of popular instruction, and spare no expense in spreading it. They cannot be too zealous in the matter. They need to have laws in every State which will punish, as guilty of crime against the country, the parent who neglects to send his children to school.

There is a danger—and a most serious one—in corrupt morals. A people without good morals is incapable of self-government. At the basis of the proper exercise of the suffrage lie unselfishness and the spirit of sacrifice. A corrupt man is selfish; an appeal to duty finds no response in his conscience; he is incapable of the high-mindedness and generous acts which are the elements of patriotism; he is ready to sell the country for pelf or pleasure. Patriotism takes alarm at the spread of intemperance, lasciviousness, dishonesty, perjury; for country's sake it should arm against those dire evils all the country's forces, its legislatures, its courts, and, above all else, public opinion. Materialism and the denial of a living, supreme God annihilate conscience, and break down the barriers to sensuality; they sow broadcast the seeds of moral death; they are fatal to liberty and social order. A people without a belief in God and a future life of the soul will not remain a free people. The age of the democracy must, for its own protection, be an age of religion.

Empires and monarchies rely upon sword and cannon; republics, upon the citizen's respect for law. Unless law be sacred a free government will not endure. Laws may be repealed through constitutional means, but while they are inscribed on the statute book they should be observed. The lowering of the dignity of law, by deed, teaching or connivance, is treason. Anarchical explosions, mob riots, lynchings, shake the pillars of the commonwealth; other violations of law, the determined defiance of municipal and state authority by the liquor traffic, the stealthy avoidance of payment of taxes and of custom duties, sear consciences, and beget a fatal habit of disobedience. A law-abiding people only is worthy of liberty and capable of guarding its treasures.

XV

THE PURITY OF THE BALLOT

What shall I say of the purity of the ballot, of the integrity of the public official? I touch upon the life-threads of the Republic, and words fails to express the solemnity of my thoughts. The poet Virgil places amid horrible torments in his hell the man "who sold his country for gold, and imposed upon it a master; who made and unmade laws for a price."

> "Vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque potentem
> Imposuit; fixit leges pretio, atque refixit."

The poet had a righteous sense of the enormity of the crime. The suffrage is the power of life or death over the State. The one licit motive in its use is the public

weal, to which private and party interests should be always sacrificed. The voter making misuse of the trust deserves to be disfranchised; the man who compasses the misuse, who weaves schemes to defraud the popular will, deserves to be proscribed. The public official is appointed for the people's good, and is sworn to work for it; if he prostitutes his office, legislative or executive, to enrich himself or his friends, he has "sold his country for gold," and he is a traitor. The distribution of office, or of administrative power, must be based on fitness; the spoils system in politics inevitably leads to public corruption, treacherous and unsafe administration, and the ultimate foundering of the ship of state.

XVI

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP—THE SOLE STANDARD

Storms are passing over the land, arising from sectarian hatred, and nativist or foreign prejudices. These are scarcely to be heeded: they cannot last. Day by day the spirit of Americanism waxes strong; narrowness of thought and unreasoning strife cannot resist its influences.

This country is America: only they who are loyal to her can be allowed to live under her flag; and they who are loyal to her may enjoy all her liberties and rights. Freedom of religion is accorded by the Constitution: religion is put outside state action, and most wisely so; therefore, the religion of a citizen must not be considered by voter or executive officer. The oath of allegiance to the country makes the man a citizen: if that allegiance is not plenary and supreme, he is false to his profession; if it is, he is an American. Discriminations and segregations, in civil or political matters, on lines of religion, of birth-place, or of race, or of language—and, I add, or of color—is un-American, and wrong. Compel all to be Americans, in soul as well as in name: and then, let the standard of their value be their American citizenship.

XVII

AMERICAN PATRIOTISM IS NEEDED

Who will say that there is no work for patriotism in days of peace? If it need not to be so courageous as in war, it needs to be more watchful and enduring: for the evils against which it contends in peace are more preserving, more stealthy in the advance, more delusive in the attack. We can easily imagine that a country, invincible in war, may go down to its ruin amid the luxuries and somnolence of prolonged peace. Hannibal won at Thrasymenus, but he lost the fruits of victory in the vineyards and orange-groves of Campania.

The days of war, many hope, are passing away for good, and arbitration is to take its place. This may be desirable, for war is terrible. Yet, it is not easy to see what is to be so serviceable in electrifying the nation's patriotism, and communicating to it an ardor which refuses during many years to dim its glow. Certain it is that under the reign of peace we must, in season and out of season, look

to the patriotism of the country, that it suffer no diminution in vigor and earnest work.

American patriotism is needed—patriotism intense, which speaks out in noble pride, with beating heart: Civis Americanus—I am an American citizen; patriotism active, which shows itself in deed and in sacrifice; patriotism public-spirited, which cares for the public weal as for the apple of the eye. Private personal civic virtue is not uncommon among us; more uncommon is public civic virtue, which watches the ballot and all approaches to it, which demands that public officials do their duty, which purifies public opinion on all matters where country is concerned. This patriotism will save the Republic.

From whom primarily does the Republic expect this patriotism? From her veteran soldiers.

This patriotism, America, thou shalt have. I speak for veterans. I speak for their brother-citizens.

Noblest ship of state, sail thou on over billows, and through storms, undaunted, imperishable! Of thee I do not say: "Cæsarem vehis—thou carriest Cæsar." But of thee I say: "Libertatem vehis—thou carriest Liberty." Within thy bulwarks the fair goddess is enthroned, holding in her hands the dreams and hopes of humanity. Oh! for her sake, guard well thyself. Sail thou on, peerless ship, safe from shoals and malign winds, ever strong in keel, ever beauteous in prow and canvas, ever guided by heaven's polar star! Sail thou on, I pray thee, undaunted and imperishable!

The First Thanksgiving Proclamation of the United States

Issued by the Continental Congress in Session at York, Pennsylvania, 1777-1778 An Inspiring Witness to the Christian Faith and Christian Patriotism of the Founders of Our Nation Transcribed for Permanent Record in The Journal of American History

BY

EDGAR Y. SHEARER, A. M.

ON THE 31st of October, 1777, President Henry Laurens of South Carolina, then President of the Continental Congress, appointed Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, and General Roberdear, then residing in York, a committee to formulate a draft of a National Thanksgiving Proclamation, the first in the history of the nation. This proclamation was written in York by Richard Henry Lee, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

The next day a report was brought in, which was unanimously adopted, and shows the loyalty and deep religious sentiment then prevailing.

The following is the proclamation:

"For as much as it is the indispensable duty of all men to adore the superintending providence of Almighty God, to acknowledge with gratitude their obligations for benefits received, and to implore such further blessings as they stand in need of; and it having pleased Him in His abundant mercy, not only to continue to us the innumerable bounties of His common Providence, but also to smile upon us in the prosecution of a just and necessary war for the defense and establishment of our inalienable rights, and liberties; particularly in that He has been pleased in so great a measure to prosper the means used for the support of our troops and to crown our arms with most signal success.

"It is therefore recommended to the legislature of the executive powers of these United States to set apart Thursday, the 18th of December next, for solemn Thanksgiving and praise; that with one heart and one voice the people of this country may express the grateful feelings of their hearts and consecrate themselves to the service of their Divine Benefactor; and that together with their sincere acknowledgements they may join in a penitent confession of their manifold

sins, whereby they had forfeited every favor; and their humble and earnest supplication may be that it may please God through the merits of Jesus Christ more fully to forgive and blot them out of remembrance; that it may please Him graciously, to grant His blessings on the government of these States respectively and prosper the public council of the whole United States, to inspire our commanders both by land and sea, and all under them, with that wisdom and fortitude, which may render them fit instruments under the Providence of Almighty God, to secure for these United States, the greatest of all blessings, independence and peace; that it may please Him to prosper the trade and manufactures of the people and the labor of the husbandman that our land may yield its increase; to take the schools and seminaries of education so necessary for cultivating the principles of true liberty, virtue and piety, under His nurturing hand, and to prosper the means of religion for promotion and enlargement of that Kingdom, which consists of righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. It is further recommended that servile labor and such recreations as at other times innocent may be unbecoming the purpose of this appointment on so solemn an occasion."

President Henry Laurens then issued the following:

"York in Pensylvania,
"Nov. 1st, 1777.

"Sir:

"The arms of the United States of America having been blessed in the present campaign with remarkable success, Congress has resolved to recommend that Thursday, December 18th next, be set apart to be observed by all inhabitants throughout the United States for a general Thanksgiving to Almighty God, and I hereby transmit to you the enclosed extract from the minutes of Congress for that purpose.

"Your Excellency will be pleased to take the necessary measures for carrying this resolve into effect, in the State in which you reside. You will also find enclosed certified copies of the minutes which will show your Excellency, the authority under which I have the honor of addressing you.

"I am with great esteem and regard, sir, your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant. "HENRY LAURENS."

A copy of this was sent to each Governor of the Thirteen States, who, in turn, issued their State proclamations.

A Forgotten Settlement in Early Michigan

BY

EMELINE JENKS CRAMPTON

IN the ceaseless hustle and bustle of this busy world, the realities which surround us, crowd aside the events of the dim past, and many interesting facts which should have been preserved in the pages of history are lost in oblivion. This bids fair to be the fate of the memory of the little settlement known as the French Mills, which once existed on the banks of Pine River, a mile and a half northwest of St. Clair.

In a careful study of the history of St. Clair County I find no reference to it, and I do not think any written history can be found. A few of the old pioneers remember that it once existed; but to them it is hardly more than tradition. Depressions in the earth, which were once the cellars of the settlement, can still be seen, but the cultivation of the land will soon obliterate them. The ruins of the mill dam in Pine River is still plainly discernible.

In 1846, my father then a boy of twelve, came to Michigan, and with his father settled on a farm about two miles north of the site of the settlement.

At that time a family of civilized Indians by the name of Fisher lived near grandfather, and from them father received most of the history of the little colony. These Indians had often heard the story of the settlement from their fathers, who personally knew the settlers.

About the time of the Revolution, a little band of French came from Detroit and settled on the banks of Pine River. A cyclone which passed through a few years before destroyed the timber and made the clearing of the spot an easy matter. Here they built both saw mill and grist mill. What led them to this particular place I do not know; but to them it seemed most suitable and there about a hundred people lived several years. How many houses there were in the settlement is not known, but a few years ago, eight cellar holes could be found and there may have originally been others. When father first knew the spot, the ruins of the chimneys and charred timbers were there to tell a silent story of what had once been. In his younger days he often went swimming near the old dam and has seen one of the mill stones. This was about forty inches across. Undoubtedly it is still there somewhere. He and others often dived into the water and found broken dishes and other trinkets. My brother, who is a connoisseur in oddities, has several pieces in his collection, which he picked up some years later.

A church celebration called the little band to Detroit and with the exception of one man, who was left to look after it, the place was deserted.

A forest fire swept through and only a few charred timbers, broken bricks and heaps of ashes remained. The man left in charge saved himself by climbing down in a well. The mill which stood a little way south, escaped the flames, and in 1846 part of the frame was still standing.

No attempt was made to rebuild, and the settlers thus deprived of their homes, went back to Detroit. Undoubtedly some of their descendants are living there at present.

"THE TRIUMPH OF PEACE"

Allen G. Newman's inspirational sculpture was erected in Atlanta, Georgia, by the Gate City Guard, to commemorate the visit of friendship made by the regiment to cities of the North in 1879. At a time when bitterness of sectional feeling still existed, the generous and beautiful spirit of these gallant Southern soldiers was indeed a "triumph of peace," and it won splendid conquests on both sides. The Guard and the people of Atlanta found another opportunity to deepen friendship with their Northern neighbors when this sculpture was unveiled and they welcomed to the ceremonies the President of the United States, many other high officials, and thousands of American soldiers. This work of art and symbol of true patriotism is presented as a permanent memorial in The Journal of American History through the courtesy of the Jno. Williams, Inc., Bronze Foundry.

MAIN VILLAGE STREET, IWERNE MINSTER

The Bowers-Bower-Bures Family in England

BY

ALPHONZO BENJAMIN BOWERS

PART I

HAVING sketched in a general way some of the social, physical, and political conditions under which our English forefathers "lived and moved and had their being," conditions that molded the character and laid the foundations of that English-speaking race that dominates so large a portion of the habitable globe, the writer, from notes accidentally left in Washington before the San Francisco fire, and from a few recent additions, will give in chapters following some of his gleanings in genealogical fields, relating to the Bowers family, from Bures, one of the six hundred and odd names of the Battle Abbey Roll, through the English and Scotch ancestry of its various surnames of Bures, Burs, Bures-Bowers, Bowers, Bowars, Bower, Bowyer, Bowier, Bowre, Bore, Bure, Burre, Burr, as well as the possibly collateral families of Bowes.

The writer claims no great erudition or persistency. He has simply utilized the labor of a vast number of earnest, erudite men whose means and love for such research enabled them to rescue, and who are daily rescuing from the oblivion of past centuries, and even ages, a vast amount of information, that, until recently, has been supposed to have been buried beyond all hope of resurrection. Many supposed myths have thus been proven to be historic facts. Yet must he claim for himself some degree of patience and persistency. He commenced his notes in boyhood, and has continued them, as the exigencies of a busy life would permit, to the present hour, though unfortunately, most of his data was lost in the San Francisco fire, as were manuscripts for several volumes nearly ready for the press. He has ransacked all the larger libraries in this country and several in Europe; has been assisted by antiquarians and able genealogists in England, Scotland and America, requiring from them authorities for each statement and verifying these statements as far as possible by a personal examination of the authorities quoted. The chief value of their contributions has been in the verifying of the writer's own data, the furnishing of a few additional facts, and several missing names and dates. He has gone through church records, town, county and family histories, parish registers, visitations, wills, deeds, rolls of officers and soldiers, and records of knights and nobles and kings.

This research was induced mainly by his interest in sociology, ethnology, and the fast-coming science of eugenics.

He had hoped to add something of value to the limited literature on these subjects, but this hope vanished, when his manuscripts went up in smoke in the San Francisco fire while he was collecting additional data in Mexico. With these manuscripts went all his notes made from historical research and personal study in England, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Russia, Finland, Cuba, Central America, the United States, Canada, the Philippines, China and Japan. Advancing years and a multiplicity of other matters preclude the recalling and weaving into warp and woof and web of so many scattered threads and the idea has been abandoned.

A vague impression on the part of some of the descendants of George Bower, of Scituate, Bowers of Cambridge, that the family was of Scotch origin, led to an examination of Scotch records; but there is little to learn concerning the name there. In most encyclopedias can be found an interesting account of Walter Bower (1385-1441), Abbott of Inchcolm, in the Fritch of Forth from 1418, who played an important part at the council of Perth (1432) in defense of Scottish rights. He was one of the commissioners for the collection of the ransom of King James (1423), one of the embassy to Paris on the business of the marriage of the King's daughter to the Dauphin (1433); a voluminous author, and chronicler of Scottish history, and one of the leading men of his time. History is strangely silent concerning his family. His birth about 1385, at Haddington, proves the presence of the name there at that date.

In many encyclopedias is also found brief mention of Archibald Bower, the Scotch writer, of unsavory memory; a Jesuit who renounced his Catholicism; wrote a history of the Popes, in seven volumes, and many other works; renewed his allegianec to the Jesuits and the Church, and died a Protestant, after all, it is said (in London in 1766), in ill-repute with all. Nothing seems to be known of his ancestry except that he is said to have been of respectable parentage.

There were two collateral families in Scotland. (No. 1) Bower of Kinnettles, with arms vert, two bows in full bend, palewise ppr., stringed arg., betw. three sheaves of arrows, two in chief and one in base of the second. Crest: A dexter and sinister arm shooting an arrow from a bow ppr. Motto: Ad metam. (No. 2) Bower of Meathie and Kincaldrum, with the same arms, crest, and motto, and apparently nothing for difference.

Only the head of a family is entitled to the full coat-of-arms, but the difference in collateral branches, and younger sons is often slight and fanciful, sometimes a mere change in tincture of one or more points. A Bower of Meathie and Kincaldrum married the daughter of Thomas, second son of James Sinclair, Esq., of Rosslyn (the nineteenth generation of that ancient and noble house), and quartered his wife's arms, argent a cross engrailed sable.

Patrick Bower of Kinnettles built and endowed a chapel with dwelling and

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COAT-ARMOR OF THE BOWERS-BOWER-BURES FAMILY
PLATE I

SAINT GILES' CHURCH, AT BOWES, YORKSHIRE

grounds for the priest whom he maintained until the chapel and residence were burned by a band of Dragoons, leaving only the stone walls. These were subsequently taken down, and the stone used for ditches and drainage. Both of these families were Catholics, as were Walter and Archibald, all of whom I take to be of the same line. I have been unable to connect them with others of the name, though they may have been related to the Bowes family, and perhaps to Bower families in England.

Years ago the writer somewhere read the statement that the various families of Bowes, Bures, Bura, Bure, Burr, Bore, Bower, Bowier, Bowiers, Bowyer, Boweyer, Bowers, and Bowars, had all derived their surnames from the town, tower or castle of Bowes in Yorkshire.

Knowing how most family names have changed with the centuries, this seemed not unreasonable, and the Scotch family of Lion-Bowes, Earls of Stratholme, in Scotland, came next under notice, with others of the name in Yorkshire.

Burke, in his "Landed Gentry," gives the origin of the Bowes of Darlington as follows: "Alan, the Black, Count of Richmond, and brother of the Earl of Brittany, came with William the Conqueror into England, and built the Tower of Bowes, to which he appointed William, his cousin, Lieutenant over 500 archers, and gave him his own shield, the arms of Brittany charged with three bows, and a bundle of arrows for his crest. This William was ancestor of the knightly family of Bowes, in the cos. of Durham and York.

"Sir William Bowes, Capt. of 500 archers and Governor of Bowes Castle, had a son.

"Sir William Bowes, Knt., who was Capt. of the town of Bowes, and also of 500 archers against Gospatrick, and the rebels of Cumberland, and the Scots." (Gospatrick was subdued by William and fled to Scotland in 1072.)

Burke shows no connecting link between the Bowes of Darlington and the "knightly family of Bowes, in the counties of Durham and York," nor between either of these and the Captain of 500 archers, but as the several branches of this family all have the same arms, either singly or with quarterings, to-wit: Erm. three long bows bent in pale gu., stringed or, they are probably of the family that, Harrison says, afterwards assumed the surname of Bowes, and as Burke and Camden stated, descended from said William, but, aside from this, there are unmistakable errors in Burke's statement.

I. It was Alan de Bretagne, a Count of Brittany, called le Roux (the Red), who first held the Honour of Richmond, of which Bowes was a part. He was the 3d son of Eudes, Count of Penthievre in Brittany, by Onquen or Agnes, daughter of Alan Caignard, Count of Cornouaille, in Brittany. Eudes (who died 8 Jan., 1079, aged 80) was a younger son of Geoffrey (reigning Count of Brittany, A. D. 992-1008), by Hawise, sister to Richard II, Duke of Normandy. Alan the Red was born about 1040, commanded a band of Bretons at the Battle of Hastings, 1066, having previously been knighted, and being related to the Conqueror

through his grandmother, Hawise, was rewarded Oct., 1069, with large grants of land united under the Honour of Richmond. An Honour was a great Barony held in chief of the crown, of which inferior Baronies formed the parts.

Alan the Red built the castle of Richmond, and founded the Abbey of St. Mary at York before 1080. He was commander of the royal forces at the siege of the castle Ste. Suzanne in Maine, in 1083. He dies unmarried in 1089, and was buried in the Abbey Church of Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk. He and his brother, Alan the Black, were nephews, not brothers, of Hoel, the then reigning Count of Brittany, and cousins to his son, *Alan,* called *Fergent* (i. e., the less, or the younger), who succeeded his father, April 13, 1084, having married for his first wife, Constance, daughter of William the Conqueror.

II. Alan de Bretagne, a Count of Brittany, called le Noir (the black), next brother and heir, was born about 1045, and, like his brother, Alan the Red, took part in the Norman invasion. He was rewarded with 120 manors, chiefly in Norfolk and Suffolk, and succeeded to the Honour of Richmond on death of his brother, Alan the Red, but did not build the Tower of Bowes. He died, it is said, in 1093.

III. Stephen, Count of Penthievre, said to have been another brother, seems to have succeeded to the Honour of Richmond about 1093. He married before 1116, Hawise, Countess of Guingamp, and thus became in her right, Count of Guingamp. He died 13 April, 1137, and was buried in the Abbey of Begar, which he had founded in the diocese of Treguier. His heart was placed in St. Mary's Abbey in York.

"The three earliest Lords of the Honour of Richmond" were territorial Barons of the greatest importance in England, and also Counts of Brittany. Being thus of Comital rank, they are frequently reckoned as Earls of Richmond, but they cannot, strictly speaking, be considered as English Earls."

"The next seems to have been so designated in Royal charters and, therefore, may perhaps be regarded as the 1st Earl of Richmond."

Earls or Jarls of those early days often ruled large territories and sometimes were more powerful than the kings themselves.

Earldom I. Alan de Bretagne, a Count of Brittany, the second to be called le Noir or Niger (the Black) second son of Stephen, Count of Penthievre, by Hawise, his wife, was born before 1116, and succeeded his father in 1137, in the Honour or perhaps we should now say, Earldom of Richmond. He married before 1138, Bertha, heiress of Brittany. She was the daughter of his second cousin, Conan III called *le Gros,* reigning Duke or Count of Brittany (who died 17 September, 1148, aged 50) by Matilda, illegitimate daughter of Henry I, King of England. Alan le Noir died in Brittany 15 September, 1146.

He was the second and last Alan the Black to hold the Honour of Richmond; and since the Tower, or Castle of Bowes was not commenced until the 18th year of Henry II, (1172), nor completed until the 34th year of his reign

(1188) (official record quoted in Harrison's History of Yorkshire, pp. 335-6), we may conclude that Burke accepted the old tradition without investigation, and consign this portion of the story of the realm of fiction. None of the foregoing seem to have been called Counts of Richmond, nor were any of them reigning Counts or Dukes of Brittany, but all were cadets of the reigning family.

Harrison, in his "History of Yorkshire," p. 328, says: "The principal part of the cultivated land at Bowes appears to have belonged to a family which afterwards assumed the local name of Bowes," and in his pedigree of the Bowes of Streatlam Castle, afterwards Earls of Stratholm (with an estate of 24,686 acres), he begins with "Fulco de Bowes, called 'Fulco de Bogis' . . . was seized of land in Bowes as vassal of Stephen, Earl of Richmond, *temp.* Henry I." (1101-1136), thus carrying the name back of the building of the tower or castle and to within about 40 years of the Conquest.

Burke says of the Bowes of Bradley, County Durham: "The family of Bowes for a long period was one of the most powerful and distinguished in Durham, renowned for the strenuous loyalty of its members and the many important services which they had rendered to the crown and to the country." Camden, in speaking of Streatlam, calls them "the famous and knightly family of Bowes or de Arcubus, who have often done great service to their king and country in times of extremity. Their pedigree is from William de Arcubus."

It seems true, therefore, that *this* family derived its present name from the name of the town or tower.

Osbert, son of Fulco de Bogis, was one of the king's commissioners or superintending the completion of the castle in 1187-88. It was then called "The King's Tower de Boges," the name at that time of the town, which had also been called Boghes, Boughes, and Bogis. Though sixteen years in building, this tower cost only £353. It did not require many pounds to make one rich in those days.

To raise money for the Crusade, Robert, Duke of Normandy, mortgaged his whole dukedom to his brother, William, King of England, for £6,666; some say for £12,600, which was so vast a sum that William laid "a grevious Imposition (tax) so that the Bishops melted their plate, and the temporal lords spoiled their Tenants to raise it"; and a shilling at that time was a substantial bequest to a relative or friend. In 1677, Massachusetts bought the whole province of Maine for £1,250; and early New England wills bequeathing a few hundred pounds, shows the makers of the wills to have been prosperous citizens.

The family de Arcubus or Bowes seems closely to have followed the changing orthography of the town, as on page 330 of Harrison's Yorkshire their name is given as de Boghes as well as de Bowes, and on page 351 as de Bowes, de Boghes, and de Boughes, and, as under these names, they were seized of lands as vassals of Stephen, Earl of Richmond, thought to have been a brother of Alan de Roux and Alan le Noir, they probably were cousins of these brothers as stated by Burke. They could not have taken their name from the unbuilt tower of

Bowes; and Bowes, Bogis, Boghes, and Boughes are, perhaps, corruptions of Bures, a town in Normandy, from which the name may have been derived. That part of Yorkshire had been laid waste by ruthless foes over and over again. Towns, castles, manor-mansions and peasant-huts, had been destroyed; horses, cattle and sheep driven away; the country devastated and practically depopulated. What more likely than that its new owners and rebuilders should give to the town and castle the name of one of their own Norman towns? There seems to be no proof of this, but it was the custom of the times. I can find no other derivation of the name. They were Normans—*de* (of) Bogis, of Boghes, of Boughes, perhaps of *Bures* in Normandy.

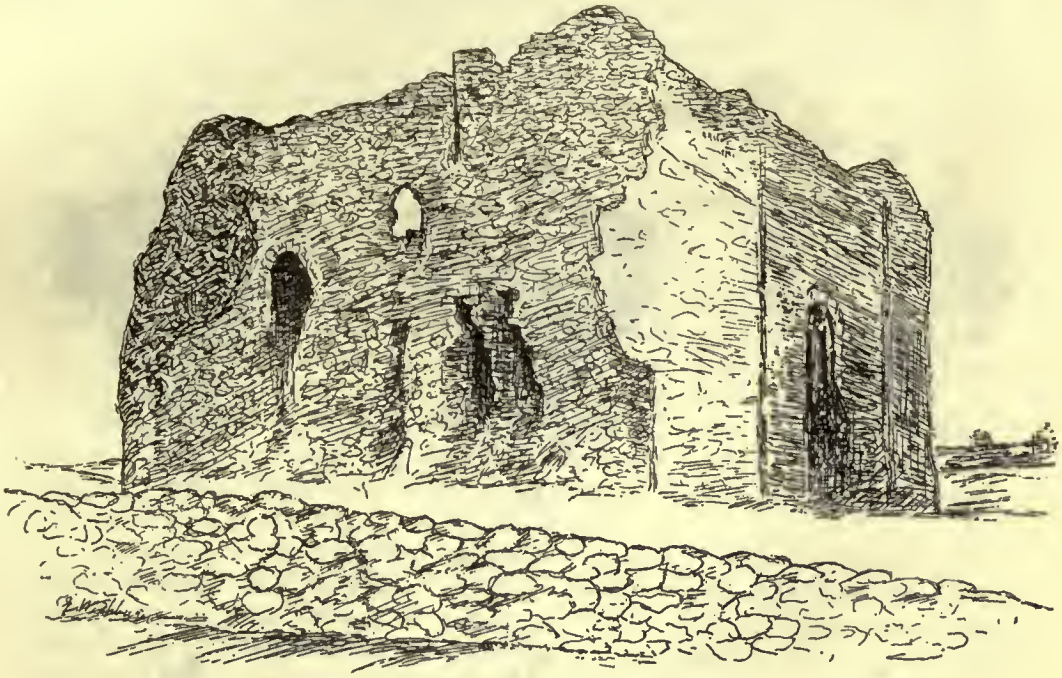
Allen in his history of Yorkshire says in substance: That Bowes is a considerable parish town with a population of over one thousand. It was once a Roman station, at the northwest angle of which stands the remnant of a castle built out of the Roman fortress, by Alan Niger, the first Earl of the title, who placed therein William, his relation, with five hundred archers to defend it against some insurgents confederated with the Scots. It is situate on the brink of a hill declining swiftly to the southward, at the foot of which runs the river Gretar. Built in the form of a square, the ruins of this castle are still a prominent feature in Bowes, and the church at Bowes, dedicated to St. Giles, is perhaps of equal antiquity.

Allen's account tallies with Burke's, but both seem to be in error regarding the tower which was completed in 1188, as already stated; while Alan de Noir, of Richmond, died, it is said, in 1093, and Alan le Niger in 1146. It must have been some other castle, or the story of the castle and 500 archers, in connection with Gospatrick (1068-72), is a myth.

So also with the story of the crest and shield. Heraldic *cymbols*, like the eagles of Rome, borne on their standards; devices on signet rings; and the scarab of Egypt, are hoary with antiquity. Heraldic *arms* date only from the Twelfth century. They probably had their beginning in devices on the helmet, shield or horse of some great, mail-clad baron, like the white plumed helmet of Navarre, of later date, to enable his knights and archers to recognize and follow his leadership in battle.

> "And if my standard-bearer fall, as fall full well he may—
> For never saw I promise yet of such a bloody fray—
> Press where you see my white plume shine, amidst the ranks of war,
> And be your oriflamme to-day the helmet of Navarre."

The earliest coat-of-arms known in England is shown in an old drawing of the seal of Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke (Lansdown MS., 203), which shows a chevrony shield used between 1138 and 1142. Eudes, Count of Brittany, seems to have had a coat-of-arms as early as 1128. Jeffries had a coat prior to 1151; Philip of Alsas, Count of Flanders, in 1164.



BOWES CASTLE
Built in the Twelfth Century, on the site of an ancient Roman fortress

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COAT-ARMOR OF THE BOWERS-BOWER-BURES FAMILY
PLATE II

The first royal arms of England were those of Richard I, in 1189. One of the royal princes had armorial bearings ten years earlier. From the beginning of the thirteenth century, they came rapidly into use. Soon all of the great nobles displayed them with pride. Some who possessed large, cultivated estates of which they were proud, adopted sheaves of wheat, or agricultural implements, like the ox yoke of de Hay and the spades of de Knipersley. Crests and mottoes, quarterings and supporters, came later and were adopted more slowly. The Bowes arms are simple and were probably adopted early in the thirteenth century. When one entitled to arms married an heiress (the sole heir) who brought large estates into the family, her arms were quartered on the shield in the second and third quarters. On marriage with another heiress, her arms took second or third quartering, according to the standing of her family or the value of her estate. As additional heiresses came in with their estates, these quarterings were divided and sub-divided and, heiresses did not come with every generation, and many quarterings, as well as simplicity of arms, is indicative of antiquity, though simplicity is the more reliable.

Since the final adoption of the name and arms of Bowes, the main lines of that family have generally retained the name unchanged though instances are not wanting in public records of its being written Bower, and it is probable that there are families of that name, so derived. The Bowes arms are Ermine, three long bows bent in pale gu., stringed, or, No. 4; and since none of the families I am now considering have arms even remotely resembling the Bowes (except perhaps the Bower families of Scotland whose two bows in full bend may have been for difference) it is evident that we must look elsewhere for their origin.

Bures is one of the names on the famous Roll of Battle Abbey "which is believed to have been compiled in obedience to a clause in the Conqueror's foundation charter that enjoined the monks to pray for the souls of those 'who, by their labor and valor, had helped to win the kingdom.' "

According to the Edgerton manuscript, Michael de Boure (Bures) was seated in Dorset in 1075, 9 years after the Conquest. Edgerton writes the name "de Boure," as it has often been written by others, and as nearly accurate as the early English scribes could be expected to get it from sound of the French or Norman name. He is said to have been the Bures of the Battle Abbey Roll, a claim, so far as I can discover, with no proof except family tradition to sustain it.

Lady Catherine, Duchess of Cleveland, in her voluminous work on the Battle Abbey Roll, in Vol. I, page 87, says:

"Bures: Unless this be an interpolation, it cannot designate the ancient Suffolk family of Bures which derive their name, not from the Norman town on the river Bethune in which Mabel de Belesme met her fate, but from Bures or Buer in the Hundred of Baberge, where St. Edmond, King of the East Angles, was crowned" (in 856). "They bore *Ermine,* on a chief indented, *Sable,* three lions ramp. Or." No. 38.

But this is not that branch of the family that claims descent from Michael de Bures nor have they the same arms. That there have been several interpolations in the Battle Abbey Roll is claimed by historians and genealogists generally, but Lady Catherine says that "not over ten have been proven to be forgeries," and Bures is not one of these. She further says, Vol. I, p. 87:

"There was a French family thus denominated—one of whom, Pierre de Bures, was Viscount of Dieppe and Arques during the war of 1173-4, which very possibly had representatives in England, as the name is found in various parts of the country and several different coats are assigned to it in Burke's Armory. The Bowers of Iwerne House, Dorset, claim descent from Michael de Bures, a contemporary of the Conqueror's whose son Walter gave its present name of Bures to a small manor he possessed, near Calne in Wiltshire."

"Nicholas de Boure of Boure's Place (1378) was seated near Deverell holding part of his estate in *capite;* and Boure's Field in the same co. belonged to his brother, William. Sir Robert de Bures, Lord of Cartley Stafford, served as knight of the shire in 1313. Sir John de Bures, of Somersetshire, several times mentioned at the same period in the Parliamentary Rolls, who likewise held lands in Berkshire and Gloucestershire, bore arms nearly identical with those of the Suffolk House."

Mordant, in his "History of Essex," Vol. II, p. 219, speaking of the manors of Foxearth and of Weston or Brooks Hall, belonging to Sir Andrew de Bures (as did many other landed estates or manors), including that of "Gay Bowers," says, "this family, which is very ancient, took their surname from the town of Bures, which was their native place or ancestral lordship" (thus agreeing with Lady Catherine), "but as they are not seated here in this county but in Suffolk" (at Acton), "I shall not trace them further than the Inquisitions lead me." The manor of Acton was purchased by Robert de Bures, the father of Sir Andrew, in 1311.

"In the north side of the chancel of Acton Church, between two pillars and beneath a gothic arch, is an ancient altar monument formerly adorned with a cross fleury, but now robbed of all its brasses, except one escutcheon which belongs to the name of Bures, and on a flat stone in the north aisle is, or was, a figure of a knight (in brass), six feet high, completely armed, cross-legged; at his feet, a lion; on his shield, the arms of Bures. The inscription was engraved around the verge of the stone, at the upper end of which at the righthand corner, 'Robert de Bures' is still, legible. Ancient figures in brass as large as this are very uncommon. This Robert de Bures was keeper of forfeited lands in Suffolk."

The manor passed to Sir Andrew de Bures and Alice, his wife. Sir Andrew died April 12, 1630. "After them, the son of Sir Andrew was seated at Acton and the family flourished for many descents, but this branch of the family terminated in the male line on the death of Henry de Bures, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The Bures estates of this line consisted of the manors of Acton, Reydon, and Wherestead (Copenger I, 6-7-8).

But they also held manors in several other counties.

"Bures or Bowers Manor in the beginning of the 14th century belonged to the de Bures family and Robert de Bures had free warren here in 1314. He died about 1331 and the manor ('Gay Bowers') five years later, was in the possession of Sir George de Santo Claro." Ibid.

Mordant says: "The manor of Bures or Bowers near the church here, is an artificial Mount. . . . It is now about 80 feet perpendicular, but has been much higher, part of it having been cut away. . . . When you are on the top, it seems level with the upper part of the belfry. . . . It could not be once less than 100 feet from the bottom of the dry moat. . . . To all appearance it covers an acre and a half of ground, if not more. . . . However, from this Mount this parish gets its distinguishing appellation in contradistinction to Bures St. Mary which stands on the opposite side of the river Stour. Wright, in his history of Essex, says of Bures or Bowers-Gifford: "This parish is distinguished from Mount Bures by affixing to it the name of an ancient owner. . . . In the time of King Henry, Sutton, then owner of Bures, gave all his lands in Sutton and Bures to his daughter Margaret." This probably accounts for the fact that the church, St. Mary, was once called St. Margaret de Bures. This place has since the Conquest been known as Bures, Bure, Bura, Bore, Boor, Bouer, Bures-Gifford and Bowers-Gifford, its present name; and various branches of the de Bures family have written their names according to the current spelling of the manor's name. So has it been to a less extent with the de Bures of Somerset, a branch of the same family who once owned large estates in that county, North, East and West Bower have been successively known as Bures, Bure, Bur, Burr, Bower, and Bowers.

Collingson, Vol. I, p. 16, History of Somcerset, refers to East, West and North Bower. He says: "The family of Bures, a name corrupted into Bowyer, and from which the place received one of its additional distinctions, were originally the lords of this manor." It will be seen later, that the change to Bower came before that to Bowyer. The name, in Somerset, has also been written Bure, Bur and Burr. Numerous descendants of the Burr line which includes Col. Aaron Burr, have been locally prominent in America.

In Vol. I, p. 233, he says: "The manor Beer was formerly in lords of the same name. By attaindor of Henry Gray, Duke of Suffolk and Marquis of Dorset, in 1553 it came to the crown and was sold in 1557 to John Bowyer, of whose descendant, Edmond Bowyer, it was finally purchased by Edward Colstan."

In Vol. III, p. 90, he says: John Bower bought of the crown in 1557 the Manor of Idstoke for 405 1-6s-3d. It had formerly belonged to the Duke of Suffolk, but on his attaindor passed to the crown. In Vol. II, p. 81, he says Edmond Bower of Somerset bought of Sir John Smyth in 1723 the Manor of King-Weston.

The John and Edmond Bowyer and the John and Sdmond Bower seem to be identical, though of this I am not certain.

In Surtee's History of Durham, Vol. III, p. 367, is given the Pedigree of Bower of Oxenfield in which the *Inq.* p. m. of William Bower is given 23 of Sept., 1623. In the record of Inq. p. m. 23 Sept., 1623, the name is written William Bore. In a foot-note it is stated that he gave a portion of his estate to William Bore, Jr., probably his nephew as he had no son. Another foot-note, extract from his nephew William's will, reads: "18 Aug., 1646, William Bower of Dorneton, yeoman, to be buried in the church in my uncle's grave; son William 160 1; son Robert 100 1. daughter Elizabeth 140 1. son Cuthbert and daughter Elizabeth executors. Cuthbert Bore was living at Skipbridge near Hurworth in 1685."

From the foregoing it is seen that the Oxenfield family wrote the name Bower, and Bore; and in the official foot-notes it is both Bower and Bore.

Bures in Normandy is a place of about 400 inhabitants. It was besieged by William Rufus (The Red) in 1093 (Chronicles of Abbey of Abingdon, 88.34).

Robert III, Duke of Normandy 1087-1110, had a natural daughter, married first to Elie Saint Saens in 1089, secondly to the Count of Arques and Bure."

If Sir Michael de Bures was the Bures of the Battle Abbey Roll, as claimed, and there seems no reason to doubt it, then it is probable that he was of the house of Arques and Bure, and I have somewhere seen the statement that the Count just referred to was probably his son.

There is another Bures, in Westphalia, with a population of about 5,000, and several coats of arms have been borne by the de Bures of France and of Westphalia; but the histories of these towns and titles I have not investigated. Which is the elder and whether the name came first from Normandy or from Bures in Westphalia, is, so far as I can learn, unknown. All theories, back of the coming to England of the Norman Michael de Bures, are, I think, purely conjectural. There seems to be no doubt in England of the descent of the Iwerne family and its collateral branches from Michael. The family under the various spellings given have been continuous in England from that day until now, the varying spellings never being phonetically very far astray. This is abundantly shown in both public and parish records.

The de Bures of Westphalia, and elsewhere in Germany, are thought to be descendants of French officers under Charlemagne, who may have given their name to the Westphalian town. The de Bures of Holland and Sweden are probably from the same old Norman stock, though there is little similarity in their arms or crests.

BOWER HALL, STEEPLE BUMPSTEAD, NEAR HAVERHILL, ESSEX

PART II

THE first or oldest arms were without crests, mottoes, quarterings, or supporters. By reference to the coast-of-arms, illustrations of which accompany this article, it will be seen that one of the arms of Bower is given in Burk's General Armory as Or, a bend vair, between two cottisses sable (No. 6). The crest of later date sometimes used is a demi-moor ppr. holding a drawn bow and arrow or. Burke assigns these arms to no particular branch of the family and from this fact and from the simplicity of the arms, the inference is that they are old, probably the arms of one of the oldest extinct branches of the Bower family.

By comparing these arms with those of various branches of the Bowyer family, it will be seen that these Bower arms are practically identical with those of the old Bower or Bowyer family of Knipersley, in Staffordshire, which are Or, a bend vair, cottis sable, No. —. This family and arms descend from Hugh Bower of Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffordshire, whose son Thomas Bower married the heiress of Knipersley, whose line dates from Aldred de Knipersley, contemporary with Henry I (1100-1135), and is as follows:

Arms: *Sable, three spades argent.* No. 5.

1, Aldred de Knipersley; 2, William; 3, Robert; 4, William; 5, William; 6, Robert; 7, Katherine (last of, and heiress of, the de Knipersleys). She married in 1380 Thomas, son of Hugh Bowers of Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffordshire, as stated, and was living as late as 1397. The line then merged in the Bower family, the official record of which begins with Hugh Bower, whose arms were Or, a bend vair cottis sable (No. 6). This line is as follows:

1, Hugh Bower, born about 1235; 2, Thomas, who married the heiress of de Knipersley; 3, Thomas; 4, John; 5, William, Gent.; whose sons were

1. John *Bowyer*; the first of that surname. From this time until now the name of the direct line has been Bowyer.
2. William Bower.
3. Andrew Bower.
6. John *Bowyer*, Gent. His sons are given to show the changes in spelling.
1. William *Bowyer*.
2. Thomas *Bower*.
3. John *Boweyer*.
4. George Bowyer, Merchant.
5. Andrew Bowyer, Gent.
7. William Bowyer, Gent.
8. Sir John Bowyer, Knight.
9. Sir William, Knight.
10. Sir John, Knt. and Bart.—Dugdale's Visitation of Staffordshire, 1663-4.

A SCENE IN IWERNE MINSTER

IWERNE MINSTER—THE CHURCH

Sir John, Knt. and Bart., was the tenth generation, counting Hugh Bower as the first, and the sixteenth beginning with Aldred de Knipersley. It will be seen that the sons of John Bowyer,[6] son of William Bower,[5] had three different surnames: (1) Bowyer, (2) Bower, (3) Boweyer. Some of the later sons of others not given here, had the surname Bowier, and Bowyier.

Hugh Bower was probably the seventh generation, counting Michael de Boure (Bures) as the first. His arms had no crest, motto nor supporters and, being among the simplest, are probably among the earliest in the kingdom.

It is true that the Visitation of County Staffordshire (1664), assigns different arms to the Bowyers of Knipersley, as does Burke also, following the authority of this Visitation. The arms thus assigned are (No. 7): Argent, a lion rampant, between three crosses crosslet, fitchée, gules; with the crest, out of a tower, gules, a demi-dragon, rampant, or. But it is certain that these are not the original arms of Bowyer or Bower of Knipersley, but a later grant made to a collateral branch of the family, in the year 1576, and subsequently assumed by the Knippersly branch.

For example: Burke, in his General Armory, assigns to the family of Bowyer of Denham Court, Buckinghamshire, and of Radley, Berkshire, the older Bower or Bowyer Coat Armor: or, a bend vair, cottis, gules (No. 3). He also says (No. 9) that the crest sometimes used is a demi-man proper, shooting with bow and arrow, argent, arrow tipped or. Moreover, he states that the pedigree of these Bowyers of Denham Court has been traced by Sir Dugdale up to Aldred Bowyer, of the time of Henry I (1100-1135). By reference to the Staffordshire Visitation, by Sir William Dugdale, it will be found that the Bower or Bowyer family of Knipersley descends first from Aldred de Knipersley, and secondly from Hugh Bower, whose son, as above stated, married the heiress of Knipersley, after the male Knipersley line had become extinct, and from whom it derived its name of Bower, afterwards changed to Bowyer in the main line and some of its branches. In further proof that Bowyer of Denham Court is an offshoot of the family of Bowyer of Knipersley, Burke states that with the arms just mentioned they quarter those of the family of Knipersley, Grosvenor, Vanables, etc.; quarterings which prove that Bowyer of Denham Court descends from Bowyer of Knipersley, who also quarter the arms of these old Norman families.

In the Visitation of London, 1633-4, we find the pedigree of a Bowyer family which begins with William Bower of Petworth, in County Sussex, Steward to the Duke of Northumberland, who is stated to be descended from Bowyer of Knightersley (Knipersley), County Stafford. The arms given (No. 17) are nearly the same as those of the Bowyer family of Denham Court, also said to be descended from the Knipersley Bowyers; viz.: Or, a bend vair, cottissed sable. The crest is a falcon rising, argent, belled, or (with a crescent for difference), which is one of the two crests assigned to the Bowyers of Denham Court (No. 9).

Thus we have two branches from the old Bower or Bowyer family of Knipersley, each of which has as arms: or, a bend vair, instead of a lion rampant, assigned to the Bowyers of Knipersley in the Stafford Visitation of 1663-4.

In the Visitation of Surrey, 1623, we have the pedigree of a Bowyer family of Camberwell, County Surrey (No. 10). who have for arms: Or, a bend vair, cottissed sable. As this pedigree begins with John Bowyer of Sussex, it is undoubtedly a branch of the family kindred to the Bowyer of Petworth, in that county, and thus also descended from the old Bower family of Staffordshire. It gives us another evidence that the original Bower arms of the Staffordshire family were or, a bend vair, instead of a lion rampant, as does the Bowyer of Charlwood in Surrey and London (No. 12); Bowyer of Lincoln (No. 13); another of London (No. 14); Bowyer of Sussex (No. 15); and a third of London (No. 17). In the Visitation of Surrey in 1662-8, another pedigree begins with 1, Richard Bower als. Bowyer; 2, Thomas Bower, als. Bowyer, and so on.

In his General Armory, Burke says that Bowyer of County Lincoln (No. 13), 1576, has the same arms as Bowyer of Denham Court (No. 9). That is to say, or, a bend vair; while he gives to this family the crest: out of the top of a castle, gules, a demi-griffin issuant, or (No. 13). Now, this crest is practically the same as that assigned to the Bowyers of Knipersley in the Staffordshire Visitation of 1664 with sufficient change for difference. Moreover, when we turn to the Lincolnshire Pedigrees, published by the Harleian Society, we find that Bowyer of Battsford, which is the family that the General Armory refers to (No. 13), has a crest practically the same as that given by Burke, but the arms, instead of having or, a bend vair, as given by Burke, are argent, a lion rampant, between three cross, crosslets, fitchée gules. These are the later (Visitation of 1664) arms of Bowyer of Knipersley (No. 7), and this Lincolnshire Pedigree begins as follows: "Bowyer of the ancient house of William Bowyer of Knipersley in the County of Stafford." Moreover, under the arms, we find the note: "Granted 9 April, 18 Eliz., by Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter, to Ralph Bowyer, Esq." Again, in the pedigree, we find that Ralph Bowyer, Lord of ye manor of Battesford, had a crest from Dethick, Garter, 9 April, 18 Eliz. (1576).

From all of which it is clear that the original arms of Bower or Bowyer of Knipersley were or, a bend vair, etc.; and that the other coat armor, argent, a lion rampant, was a later grant made to Ralph Bowyer of this family in 1576, and afterward substituted by the family of Knipersley for the original Bower arms, as evidenced by the Staffordshire Visitation of 1583. This is further confirmed by the pedigree of Bowyer in the visitation of Sussex, 1530 and 1633-4, printed by the Harleian Society. This is the pedigree of the branch of the Bowyers of Petworth, Sussex, which, as we have seen, is a branch of the Knipersley family. From this Petworth branch descends the Bowyers of London (No. 14); Denham Court in County Bucks (No. 9), and Radley in County Berks. The arms (No.

16) are Quarterly, quartering the old Knipersley arms, sable, three spades, argent; and there the Bower arms are not a lion rampant, but are or, a bend vair, cottissed sable. The crest over the arms is a dove, or, but to one side is a blackamoor naked, couped at the knees, afrontee, sable, holding a bow and arrow drawn to the dexter, argent, the arrow headed or. Moreover, the note accompanying this last crest is as follows: "This is the true crest in the Visitation." Now, this crest is a variation of the one which Burke assigns to the Bower arms, or, a bend vair. Moreover, the Bowyer pedigrees in these Visitations of Sussex also contain a note which confirms the change of arms by the Bowyers of Knipersley, and it furnishes the oldest evidence known to us that or, a bend vair, cottissed sable, was the original arms of the Bower and Bowyer family of Knipersley and all of its many Bower and Bowyer branches. The ancient note which contains these facts is as follows:

"Memorandum that this noate following was written uppon the Pattent.

"Noate that since the pattent was graunted there hath byn good prooffe that therein named Thomas Bowyer gent. ought to bear to his Sircoate of Armes gold a bend vayrey cottised sables as his Auntient Coate of name descended to him of Antiquity ffrom his Auncestors uppon wch proofe these Armes here depicted in the margent of this Pattent was set fforth confirmed and allowed to Thomas Bowyer of the Middle Temple in London sonn to the aforesayd Thomas in the Tyme of the Vissitation of Sussex taken in the yeare of our Lord God 1570. A Pattent granted by Christopher Barker als. Garter to Thomas Bowyer of Sussex A° 1586."

Burke gives the quartering of the Knipersley family (Visitation of 1583) as follows: "Arms, quarterly, 1 and 4, argent, a lion rampant between three crosses crosslet fitchee gules (Bowyer). 2, Azure, three spades or, handles argent (Knipersley). 3, Azure, two bars argent, in chief as many plates (Venables). Crest: Out of a tower gules, a demi-dragon or, langued of the first. (See Arms No. 7.)

These were the arms of the Knipersley Bowers after the substitution of the name Bowyer and the lion, etc., in lieu of the original Bower name and arms. By this substitution they sacrificed, perhaps unwittingly, the assertion in their arms of the intiquity of the Bower or Bowyer family, while to preserve this antiquity the pedigree of another branch runs 1, Richard Bower als. Bowyer; 2, Thomas Bower als. Bowyer; 3, Thomas Bower als. Bowyer, etc.

The Bower (except perhaps those of Scotland), Bowyer, Boweyer, Boyer, Bowier and Bowyier families thus far discussed are descendants of Aldred de Knipersley *Temp.* Henry I (1100-1135) and Hugh Bower, born about 1225, whose son, Thomas Bower, married the heiress of Robert de Knipersley, the last male representative of the Knipersley family, as we have seen. Their arms and those of the families descended from them are Nos. 5 to 20, inclusive.

Some of the arms of the Iwerne Minster line claiming descent from Michael de Boure (Bures) are found in Nos. 21 to 28, inclusive; and in connection with this we give the following from "Notes and Queries," 5th S., Vol. VI, p. 184:

BOWERS FAMILIES IN THE SOUTH OF ENGLAND

"The following tables will probably prove of interest to several families in the South of England. . . . The first is taken from a volume in the British Musem, entitled "Various Pedigrees," Egerton's MSS. 1075. . . . The Pedigree is very neatly drawn, each name being written in a circle.

"The Pedigree of the Ancient Family of Bowers, in the Counties of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, and South(ampton), was collected in the viijth Year of the King Charles' Raign, 1632.

"I. The first that was found to be of the Name of Boure was Michael de Boure, as appears in the Ancient Rolls at the Conqueror's coming into England, of the Gent. Names in the Countie of Dorset, whereof a coppie was shewed.

"II. The next of that Name was Ralph Bure, as appears by a Deade without the date by Eva de Tor to Robert de Kikely, for Ralfe de Bure (?), which Ralfe was supposed to be owner of a little Manor in Wilts, by Calne, called Boure, being lately (the property of?) the Langues of Whaddon in that Countie.

"John Bure, his second sonne (*i. e.,* the second son of Michael de Boure), but what becomes of him is not yet found, but was thought to dye younge.

"III. Robert Bure, sonne of Ralf Bure, purchased of Eva de Tor certain lands called Radiforde, &c., parcell of the Manner of Winkaley, in com. Dorset, as a Deed of that Date shows.

"Michael Bure, the second sonne, obtained from his Father the said Manner of Boure, and died Seizd (of) it, (as) appear'd by an office in the Cheky, and the same descended to Alianor, his only child.

"Alianor Bure, but who married her or what became of her was not found.

"IV. The next of that Name was Henry de Boure, who was witness to a Deed sealed Temp. Edw. duodecimo of Lands in Collingborne in Wilts, made by William Stapleforde to John Torolde, as the Deede itself mencons, which Henry Boure was seiz'd of Lands both in Wilts and other counties, as appears by the office found after him.

"V. After this Henry, Nicholas Bore, his sonne and heire, was found to be not then in age (or within age) and to hold some of his Lands of the King in Capite, and was seiz'd of a freehold in Deverell in Wilts, called Bore's Place, now the Landlorde's possession, which Nicholas was witness to a Deede made by Richard Hall of Lands in Shafton. Anno 11 R. 2.

"VI. And William Boure, another sonne of the said Henry, had Lands in Lavington, called Boure's ffields, in Wilts, from whom the Bowers of Lavington are descended."

"Here the first part of the pedigree ends. No further account is given of

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COAT-ARMOR OF THE BOWERS-BOWER-BURES FAMILY
PLATE III

the Bowers of Lavington. The next name that occurs is that of Walter Boere of Shefton, who held some of Henry de Boure's lands, but what relationship he bore to the latter was not discovered. From him descend the Bowers of Iwerne House, Dorset, whose pedigree is given in full in Hutchin's History of Dorset, Vol. III, p. 149. The following table is a continuation of the pedigree of the Bower of Lavington, Wilts. It is copied from the Visitation of Wilts, Harl. MSS.:

"'I. Robert Bower, vixit (had lived prior to) Anno 45 Edw. 3 (1372).

"'II. Walter Bower, of la ffoyle in co. Southampton, 46 Edw. 3 (1373).

"'III. —— Bower, temp. Hen. IV-V (1399-1422).

"'IV. Roger Bower, Anno 45 Hen. VI (1467).

"'V. John Bower, of ——, in co. Devon.

"'VI. Robert Bower, Anno 3 H. VII (1487-8).

"'VII. Robert Bower, 36 H. VIII (1545).

"'VIII. Martin Bower.

"'IX. William Bower, of London, mar. Joan, dau. of Ambrose Dauntsey. Samuel Bower, s. p. Thomas Bower, of Lavington, in co. Wilts—Dorothy, dau. of William Beckett, of Wilton.

"'X. William Bower, of Lavington (oldest son of Thomas Bower), mar. ——, dau. of —— Gerrard. Ambrose Bower, 2nd son; Thomas, 3rd son, s. p.; Stephen, 5th son, mar. dau. of —— Jackman, s. p.; John, 6th son, mar. dau. of Cheyny, and had a son Robert, of Wishford; Gregory, 7th son, s. p.; Robert Bower, of Sarum, 4th son.

"'XI. William Bower, of Lavington, Esq. (eldest son of William Bower) mar. Anne, dau. of —— Maton. Bagriell Bower, s. p.; ffrancis Bower, s. p.; Anne, wife of Sefton Bramwich.'

"The following extract from the State Papers, time Queen Elizabeth, seems to refer to members of these families:

"'1567, Petition of Edward Jackman, Francis Bower, etc., to the Queen, complaining as merchants of the seizure of their cloths by the King of Barbary.'

"Arms—Sable, a cross pattee argent. (See No. 58. Arms No. 59 are probably a branch of this line.)

"Robert Bower, of Sarum, fourth son of William Bower, of Lavington, served the office of Mayor of Salisbury in 1584, and was returned as member of Parliament for the city in 1593 (see Hoare's Wiltshire).

"'Bower of Sarum (Visit. of Wilts, Harl. MSS.):

"'I. Robert Bower, of Sarum m. Margarett, the dau. of —— Coryett.

"'II. 1, Katherine, wife to William ffawkender, of Westbury, in the com Southampton, Esq.; 2, Dorothy, wife to John Trenchard, clerk of the kitchen to K. James, and after to Adie Sayer, of Prounder, in Kent, Esq.; 3, Hester, wife of William Zouch, of Pitton, Esq.; 4, Alice Bower; 5, Elianor, wife to William Woodward, of London, mercer; 6, Margarett, wife to Douglas Castillian, brother to Sir ffrancis Cistillian, knight; 7, Mary, wife to George Bromley, London, grocer.

"A branch of the Bowers of Lavington settled in Gloucestershire. Their arms are painted on the curious old monument in Gloucester Cathedral in memory of John and Ann Bower, who died in 1615 and 1613. The Visitation of Gloucestershire, Harl. MSS., 1543, contains the following short pedigree in the midst of that of Bridgman of Great Deane; but, as no arms are given, I cannot tell whether the Bowers of Berkeley were connected with the families of that name in Wilts:

"'I. John Bower, of Bradstone, in parochia of Barkley, in com. Glou.—Bridgett, 2nd dau. of William Bridgman (by his second wife, Mary, dau. of Richard Brayn, of Little Deane).

"'II. Aline, wife to Thomas Webley, in com. Glou.; Bridgett; Elizabeth; Thomas Bower, 3rd sonn; Edward Bower; Charles Bower.'

"I should be glad of further information respecting any of the above.

(Signed) "HUBERT BOWER."

For pedigree of the ancient Bower family of Dorset known as the Iwerne House, see Hutchin's History of Dorset, Vol. III, p. 149.

Iwerne Minster is one of the largest parishes in the county of Wilts. It takes its principal name from the little Ewern River, which rises here, and the additional name from its church or minster. Here the Bower family had an elegant seat, rebuilt by Thomas Boyer Bower, Esq. (1868).

"In the hall windows of the old one were these arms: BOWER; impaling Or, three bulls passant, sable, horned and hoofed in field for *Squibb;* and the impalement single. Bower impaling, argent, a chevron between three lapwings close sable, for Twynihoe, also the Bower crest, which is likewise on the chimney tops. The talbots seiant, remain on two piers forming a gateway of approach to the mansion as you enter the parish.

"The church, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, is a large and handsome structure."

A stone with rings within the rails is the entrance to the tomb of the Bower family.

South of the desk is a square isle with fireplace that belonged to the Bower family.

Various inscriptions to the memory of members of this family are found in other parts of the church.

For the arms of this line, see the reproduction in colors and Nos. 21 to 28, inclusive.

The Bowre family is of the same ancestry as that of Iwerne House, as shown by the Visitation of Dorset in 1623, from which I copy the following:

BOWRE, Edmond.

Arms: Sable three talbots heads couped in chief argt.

Below the pedigree is the following curious extract:

"This Indenture made the X Maye in the yeare of ye raigne of Soueraing lord Edw. th 6 by the grace of god of Engl. france and Ireland King defender of the faith the 7th etc. between Edmond Bowre of Donhead Andrew in the countye of Wilts Gent. etc."

The arms of another Bower line, having the distinguishing characteristic of a human leg couped at the thigh and transpierced above the knee by a broken spear, are found in Nos. 29 to 34, inclusive. Of this line I know but little. The many quarterings on some of their arms are indicative of honor and antiquity. The same is true of the family whose arms are numbered 35.

Bowers; unassigned No. 36 is one of the simplest and doubtless earliest of English arms; of which those of Hugh Bower, No. 6; Bowyer of Camberwell, No. 10; and the unassigned No. 11, seem to be slightly later variations.

Another very ancient line, said by the Duchess of Cleveland, and by Mordant to have derived its name from Bures in Suffolk, which Mordant says was its ancestral lordship, has many branches, some of whose arms are Nos. 37 to 48, inclusive. I diligently sought confirmation of the alleged derivation of the name and failed to find it. Neither have I found anything concerning the origin of the name of the manor or lordship. The family de Bures has given its name to several other places in England—why not to this so termed "ancestral lordship"?

There probably are documents in England, if they could be found, to definitely settle this question. This particular line has had numerous branches, some of which are long extinct. That of Sir Robert de Bures, whose ancient figure in brass has been described on a previous page, has had no known male representative for many generations.

This family in its main line seems to have retained its name unchanged for centuries. It was anciently seated in Suffolk, Essex, and Somerset counties, where the different branches held many important estates.

Some of these branches varied the spelling of the surname in different generations. Those in Essex, formerly of Somerset, were successively *de* Bures, Bures, without the *de,* Bower, Bowyer, Bure, Burre, Bur and Burr.

There are so many of the Burr family in America that the following is of interest:

"BURR, Daniel, of Wrabness: The Manor of Wrabness in 1714 fell to Daniel Burr by will of Sir Thomas Davall. Mr. Burr had estates at Wrabness, Ramsey, and Dover-Court and in Burr St. at Wapping.

"His arms (No. 45) were Ermine, on a chief sable, two lionels ramp. or."—Morant Hist. Essex, Vol. I, p. 492.

"BURRE or BURE, of Barkins No. 46):

"Arms: Or, on a chief, indented sa., two lionels of the 1st.

"1. Stephen Burre in Barkins, co Essex, Gent.

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COAT-ARMOR OF THE BOWERS-BOWER-BURES FAMILY
PLATE IV

"2. Thomas Burre in Barkins, co. Essex, Gent., son and heir.

"3. John Bure, Gent., son and heir, m. Catherine, dau. to Richd. Cavert of Slaugham, Sissex, Gent.

"4. John Burre of Upsol (Uphall?) in Essex, Gent., son and heir m. Alice dau. of Thomas Marshe; had daus. Jayne, Jayne, Sarah, Agatha, Elizabeth. Har. Sy. Collections, Vist. Essex Co. 1612; Vist. of 1558 same as above, but gives Burre and Alice his wife, a son Thomas and daus. Cicily and Susan besides the five above given. Harleian Soc'y Col. Vol. —, p. 32."

Without further consideration of these various lines, I find George has been a common name with them all, but so far have discovered only one who could have been the George Bower of Scituate, Mass., in 1637. The others art either otherwise accounted for, or of too early or too late dates. This George was the third son of the third wife of Thomas Bower of Iwerne Minster in Dorset, England, the pedigree of which family has been brought down to the present time. The parish records of Iwerne Minster do not go back quite so far, and I can not discover what became of him. The tradition, said to have been current in the family a century ago, that he migrated to America, has not been verified, and though believing that he may have been the George of Scituate, I hesitate to go further than to say that the latter must, I think, have come from one of the branches descended from Sir Michael of 1075.

Walter, canon of Wells, and William, brothers of George of the Iwerne House, and perhaps George, himself, in early life, lived in Somerset. In all the earlier Colonial records the name of George of Scituate is given as Bower, and his son, the Rev. John, always adhered to that spelling. His brothers, Benanuel and Jerathmeel, added the final s, and since then Bowers has been the family name of their descendants in America. The English histories and pedigrees of the various branches of this ancient family can not be given even in condensed form within the limits set for this paper.

The Bowes family (see arms No. 4), with its various branches descended from de Arcubus, has no connection, except through intermarriages (so far as I can discover), with any of the other families named, with the possible exceptions of the Scotch families mentioned. The variations in surnames enumerated seem to be found among most of the branches we have been discussing, except that of Bowes, and perhaps even that.

Until after the foregoing had been written, and the printing in colors of the Bower Arms, I had discovered no one who could possibly have been the George Bower of Scituate, except George, the third son of the third wife (he had a fourth also) of Thomas Bower of the Iwerne house; which George probably, as I have stated, lived in his youth in Somerset, as lived and died his brothers, Walter and William. I was confirmed in the belief, though I did not consider it conclusive, that the two were identical, from the fact that Col. Jerathmeel Bowers,

a descendant of George Bower of Scituate, in dividing his property in Boston into lots and streets, named one of the streets "Somerset" and by the further fact that he gave the same name to the town that grew up around the Bowers shipyards and which he had caused to be set off from the town of Swanzey in Bristol County, Massachusetts.

Before going to press, I came across the abstract of names from an old will and the record of marriage given below. The Bowers wills in this record commence with that of John Bower of Aynhoe, Northampton, 1501, and end with that of George Bower of Doncaster, York, 1650, who is probably the George Bower of the will below:

"Prerogative Court of Canterbury Abstract of Wills from Register of 1383 down, p. 212 No. 834."

"William Bower of Aymowe, co. Northampton, yeoman, dated 31 May 1619. To be buried in chancel of Aynoe church; near wife; son George Bower; four of his children under 18; son Edward Bower; his son Edward; daughter Katherine Cockron; her daughter, Annie Cockman; dau. Annie Hill, her three children under 21; dau. Elizabeth Bower; grandchildren Elizabeth Elizabeth and Anne Walcotte, their father deceased; guardians to said grandchildren my sons Richard, George and Edward Bower and Edward Cockman Executors. Overseers son-in-law Edward Cockman and sons George and Edward Bower.

"WILLIAM BOWER.

"Witnesses:

"Edward Whitbye
"Edward Eaglesfield
"Edward Bunting

"Proved 13 May 1620."

The George mentioned in this will might have been the George of Scituate, Mass., in 1637, so far as the date is concerned, but the following record of marriage from the Yorkshire Archaeology Journal seems to otherwise settle the question:

"Vol. XIII. p 379—George Bower of Manley Diocese of Lincoln and Barbara Smyth of Braythwell Co. York 1614."

If George of Scituate and Barbara, his wife, were married in 1614, their daughter, Ruth, married in Plymouth in 1639, might have been twenty-four years old when married, though she may have been younger, so that 1614 may well have been the date of marriage of the George and Barbara of Scituate. This makes it reasonably certain that George was of the Lincoln Bower (Bowyer) family, descended from Hugh Bower of the Nippersley line (1235) and Aldred de Nipersley (1100). Several of these Bower families were, through their maternal ancestors, of royal lineage, some of whose lines run back more than two thousand years. All of them have produced men prominent in warfare and

peace, loyal to England, as have been their descendants in this country to the government under which they live.

The Somerset-Essex-Suffolk line *may* have taken its name from the manor of Bures in Suffolk, but I do not think so. I think it gave its name to the manor. I think all the families I have mentioned, except the Bowes and perhaps the Bower families of Scotland, are descendants of Michael de Boure (Bures), who is claimed to have been the ancestor of the Bures of Battle Abbey Roll.

The Mythology of the North American Indian

BY

IMOGENE FONTAINE

S Dawn draws away the veil of Darkness, unfolding the deep places of the Night, primitive philosophy puts forth its handwriting on the wall of Day, revealing the arcana of prehistoric man. Since the mental and moral philosophies of races constitute their creeds, ethnologists have been busy with these early religions or so-called mythologies. It is to the mythology of the indigenes of North America that your attention is called, rather not to the race in its entirety, but to those tribes of red men inhabiting the part of the continent which is now the United States. The subject is peculiarly interesting in view of the fact that these tribes remained for so long unsusceptible to civilization and thus distinguished from that advanced nation of Toltecs occupying Mexico up until the Eleventh Century, and their successors, the Aztecs, whose vast ruins are of recent date; and from that people of the Yucatan, the Mayas, remarkable not only for their massive architecture but for a written language and literature of their own. All of these have handed down memorials through the archives and pictographs of their temples.

It is of that uncelebrated and unaggressive race which has left no ruin of temple and tower to enrich the annals of archaeology that we know so little. These have perpetuated their myths and hero legends only through the sacerdotal songs and religious dances of their people. To an enlightened nation of the Twentieth Century the gloom of the forest primeval and the traditions thereof seem too remote and mysterious to stand the glare of day. Perhaps those opening lines of Longfellow's poem may unlock our indifferent hearts and bring us in touch with the subject under study:

"Ye whose hearts are fresh and simple,
Who have faith in God and Nature,
Who believe that in all ages
Every human heart in human,
That in even savage bosoms,
There are longings, yearnings, strivings
For the good they comprehend not;
That the feeble hands and helpless

Groping blindly in the darkness,
Touch God's right hand in that darkness,
And are lifted up and strengthened,—
Listen to this simple story,—
To this song of Hiawatha."

Before taking up the religion of the race which is personified in this young Hiawatha let us give some thought to the real and inward nature of the aborigines of our country.

The poetic soul of the Indian is shown in his reverence of nature, his limitless imaginative power, and his superior ability to appreciate and understand the myriad voices of the forest. His speech is metaphorical. The seasons in their sway, the clouds in their dark, prophetic beauty, the rainbow after the storm,—all are veiled in the figurative language of the red man. His one short sentence may paint a vivid picture before the mind. It is an oratory of few words but of no less eloquence. Opposing this poetry of emotion is a stoicism peculiar to Indian character, combined with severe cruelty and excessive watchfulness. Matching these latter traits we find a brutality resulting from the entire preponderance of carnal propensities to the neglect of the finer sensibilities, making him the unambitious, uncivilizable man that he is. It is a nature abounding in unbelievable incongruities. Sensitive to the beauty and mystery of creation, yet unaspiring; having a sentient nature, yet undeveloped intellect.

It is interesting to note here an anatomical comparison of our red man of North America with the Inca of Peru. The data of craniologists show the bulk of brain of the North American Indian in his savage state to be larger than that of the old demi-civilized Peruvian with all his knowledge and cultivation of certain arts and practices of government. We have under contemplation a nation unrefined by outside agencies, inimical to amelioration, a race of men growing up like a vast uncultivated forest, depending only on the clemency of the seasons, unwilling to be grafted, and unfruitful, neither receiving nor giving; a self-satisfied state of savagery. An instance of this hostile attitude to enlightenment is afforded by Pontiac, a chief of one of the branches of the great Algonkin tribe who denied himself and his people any exotic influence, asserting that savagery was to be preferred rather than civilization by contact with the white man. It would seem that this stolid denial was a sub-conscious fear of a sweeping susceptibility to the plastic force of culture.

Be this as it may, this independence of will in resisting outside influence made for a deeper dependence on their gods and heroes within.

Monotheism had no meaning in the mind of this primitive race of red men. Theirs was a belief in a variety of divinities, a faith with no idea of combining the concrete in one great personal Being. Their closest conception of bringing the supernal powers into a positive focus is discoverable in words meaning mystery,

magic, spirit, such are in the Algonkin tongue "manito," in Iroquois, "otkin," in the Dakota, "Wakon," words analogous to the Latin "superi," and by no means conveying the idea of God in the singular number.

To the Indian mind the wind, water, fire, clouds, and all the signs showing in the firmanent were symbols of the supernatural, possessing spirit.

Let us first consider wind worship, the origin of which is probably due to the racial adoration of the four cardinal points. In all early religions there exists a sacred number, not only in the religious rites but in the domestic lives of the people. In Indian religion this numeral is four. Mr. Daniel Brinton, in his "Myths of the New World," accounts for this in the universal belief in the four cardinal points. He calls these "the foundation of the most solemn mysteries of the religion." This mystic number was conspicuous in the annual festivals of the Dakotas and in the great commemorative feasts of the Creeks. The Algonkins, Creeks, Cherokees and many other tribes divided the year into four spirits, the Winds. North, East, South and West Winds were brothers ever struggling for the mastery. Each in his conquering period established a season. Thus Spring, Summer, Fall and Winter.

Hardly less picturesque we find this myth than the old Greek legend of Eolus, god and guardian of the mighty winds. Indian mythology is rich in its field of fancy, and there are no more beautiful imaginings anywhere in mythology than to be found among Indian traditions. It is very opposite to associate the winds both in their majestic aspect of the storm and tornado and in their gentler guise of zephyrous breezes, the emotions and breathings of heaven with the breath of life, the immortal soul. As breath is life, so the winds were worshipped as life-givers. Born in the forest and on the plain, fearful of the mighty havoc of its storms, and grateful for its soft rain-bearing gift to the soil, it is little wonder the Indian held it among the chief powers in the pantheon of his religion.

In close relation to wind power is the element water. In nearly every primitive philosophy the source of all life is traced to the primeval ocean. Perhaps the most general myth of all races is that of Mother Ocean "impregnated by the All Father," and casting forth the earth. Out of a boundless sea came all things. Much the same thought as that of the Spirit of God breathing upon the deep in our Book of Genesis prevailed in the creation legend of these aborigines. With them the conception is of the wind personified as birds hovering over the great deep and infecundating it with the germs out of which the earth grew.

Out of this general idea many myths have emerged, some of which if not beautiful are at least fanciful. That of the Iroquois tells of their primogenial ancestress who fell from her abode above. There was only water to embrace her, but the beaver and the otter seeing her immediate peril brought up mud from the bottom of the deep and constructed an island for her dwelling. From this the land grew and developed. The Algonkins have a tale attributing the appearance of land to a grain of sand brought from the deepest pit of the ocean by their

foremost divinity Michabo, who from this "fashioned the habitable land and set it floating on the waters until it grew to such proportions that a strong young wolf running constantly died of old age before he reached its limits."

It is readily seen how important a place in Indian worship is ascribed to wind and water. Since to the action of the wind upon the waters a productive power is attributed and held in supreme veneration. Yet the divine properties of water are not limited to the power of generation. As it was potent to bring forth so was it powerful to swallow up. Its fathomless depths inspired solemnity and awe, and the red man adored in fear. And what is more fitting to be held in reverence and adoration than that which sustains life and administers to man's real needs? Without the cooling drink, man and beast would die; without the refreshing rain and dew, all plant life would perish.

It is peculiar to note that among certain tribes a service like unto our baptismal service is held, in which holy water is sprinkled on the one wishing to be absolved from sin. Among the Cherokees an actual haptismal rite is performed on the child three days after its birth. In case this rite is omitted the Indians believe the child will die. Missionaries have related legends of a Fountain of Youth from which fabled chieftains drank and became immortal. In many sacred ceremonies water is used as the purifier. How natural it is, then, to assign to the first place this element which produces and preserves, cleanses and obliterates.

The next consideration is fire worship. As the wind of heaven hovering over the shoreless waters breathed the germs of things unborn into its mighty deeps, and in due time earth appeared and brought forth her fruits, it was necessary to the development of creation that fire exist, giving to life light and warmth. In North American mythology purely a sun worship has no real predominance, as in Peruvian mythology and in the majority of early religions. The heliolotry of these men was, more correctly speaking, a symbol worship in which the sun is symbolic of the fire spirit. Such expressions as "the wigwam of the Great Spirit," and "the place where the Old Man dwells," have been applied to the sun. When they held up their hands to it and made their intercessions, it was to the Fire Spirit, not to the great luminary in itself. The sun, moon and stars, the lightning streak in the sky were so many manifestations of the Fire Spirit. In accounting for these different aspects there have sprung up a number of myths. One of the most general is that of Dawn as the mother of the Sun in his guises of Morning and Light and Day. An Algonkin legend runs like this: Their hero-god and highest deity, Michabo, was an impersonation of Light. His grandmother, the moon, gave birth to a daughter, the rosy Dawn; and this brilliant beauty mating with the West Wind conceived a son and died in bringing him forth. Thus the Spirit of Darkness begets the Spirit of Light. A pretty allegory it is of the law of creation. Out of darkness of Night come forth the things of Light. Germinated in the dark womb of the earth the seed of all things spring into life and loveliness. Out of the travail of trial and sorrow the soul soars to the sublimest mountains of light.

Fire represents to the Indian mind a variety of emotions. As the camp fire it is the incense rising from the alter of his domestic love, around which all the good and gentle spirits of the phantom world speak to him. As the war fire it is the scene of evil spirits where barbarism and brute behavior are enacted. Among the more ancient tribes a perpetual fire was kept burning, which if allowed to go out it was believed would cause life to become extinct. The Shawnee said that life and fire were of one essence. The Delaware called the fire their ancestor. Many burned their dead with the idea that the spirit passed to a higher heaven on the tongues of fire.

Wind to breathe upon and animate, water to nourish and invigorate, fire to sustain; whence came the race endowed with these god-gifts? The current belief that man came out of the bowels of the earth is well established in the following fables:

The Choctaws located their origin in a cave in the region of the Big Black River where the "Master of Breath" fashioned the first man from the clay which surrounded him. The Iroquois believe their ancestors to have emerged from a mountain near the Oswego Falls in New York State. Minerva-like they sprung into being in full warrior attire. More fantastic than any other is that of the Mandans, a tribe inhabiting the Missouri River region. All men dwelt in the under world, from which a grape vine grew to the entrance of the World of Light. Many climbed the vine, going back and forth at will until one day "an immoderately fat old lady anxious to get a look at the upper earth, broke the vine with her weight, and prevented any further communication." The Lenni Lenape attributed their release from the dark under world to the wolf which dug away the earth allowing them to escape. These and many more which it were tiresome to relate give evidence that in the category of Indian logic man is earth born.

Before bringing this article to an end it is necessary to touch upon hero worship, tho only a mere mention will suffice. All the great families of aboriginal tribes held in adoration some deified being which they believed presided over and gave honor and glory to their nation. These tutelary gods were held by some writers to be the apotheoses of powerful chieftains of their clans. Others assert that it was merely the human instinct to personify or give color and form to the highest conception of divinity. Whichever it was, they worshipped these as the creators of the race, the donors of the good gifts both to their domestic and religious lives. Such was Michabo to the Algonkins, Ioskeha to the Iroquois, Wasis to the Cherokees, Numock-Muckenah to the Mandans, and a long list of others.

However imperfect their divinities, however inconstant their devotions, among no primitive people upon which the search light of ethnologists has rested is there a more tenacious belief in the immortality of the soul. Certain bands inhabiting the California coast, which are regarded as the lowest type of humanity on the continent, have been reported to have no form of worship; yet it is known that they put rude specimens of shoes on the feet of their dead, showing

that they looked to a longer journey than the material eye could discern—a journey in some spiritual world. It is curious that among many clans there was a philosophy of a plurality of souls. It was found among various bands of the Algonkins and Iroquois, whose creed was of two souls, one which accompanied the body to its resting place, and then entered into another human form; while the other upon the extinction of the flame of life took immediate flight into the world of Spirits. The Sioux held that there were three souls; while stranger still, many of the Dakota tribes credited man with four.

All of these point to a common creed, a universal belief in the immortality of the spirit.

What right have we, after centuries of Christianity, to look with aught but reverence upon a religion which, groping blindly in the dark, feels after and finds an infinity the essence of which is God?

Jefferson's Plan for the Development of American Agriculture

THE necessity for further developing the agricultural resources of the country is becoming so marked that bankers have begun considering the problem and are preparing to co-operate with farmers in whatever may be required to bring about important changes. Only a short time ago an organization of bankers met at St. Paul and discussed this subject from their own point of view and from the standpoint of the farmer as well. They deliberated very carefully upon all phases of the matter and ultimately arrived at the conclusion which has been reached by every thoughtful observer. Something must be done to increase the product of the land and young people must be educated to engage in tilling the soil. In other words, some means must be devised to influence young people toward the farm and away from the city, else the present high cost of living will go on increasing until prices on some commodities are prohibitive.

This was an epoch-making meeting and it is mentioned here because it seems the culmination of two very important events. The first began some fifty years ago when the late Senator Justin Morrill, of Vermont, then a member of the House of Representatives, succeeded in securing the passage of a law establishing Agricultural Experiment Stations in the various States. These experiment stations are largely responsible for the remarkable improvement in agricultural methods. Along with them has developed a system of agricultural colleges and both are exerting a constructive influence upon the rural life of the nation.

The next great movement having the same object was the appointment of a commission to make a study of the conditions of country life, by Theodore Roosevelt, when he was President. The experiment station and agricultural college were hampered in their work because of some influence which was not understood. Mr. Roosevelt's commission made the difficulty plain when it sent in its report.

Agriculture is the basis of the national life. Washington urged this upon his countrymen more than a century ago and the real relation of the farmer to other workers has never varied. But as the years have passed the farmer has become more important, until today he is actually in control of the situation as respects the food supply. This situation is, likewise, growing more acute each year. It promises to be worse in the future than it is now. Commissions and advocates of lower prices can not change the relation of supply and demand. Only the farmer himself can do that, and he can't do it until there is more of him or until he can produce more by the expenditure of an equal amount of energy.

These bankers believe they have begun at the right point to successfully solve the problem. They want to see the Federal Government do something more for these stations and colleges than has been done yet. They want to see some extraordinary incentive supplied to induce young people to remain on the farms and learn how to work them properly. To accomplish this they suggest a system of prize awards based upon the same principle as that which governs the boys' corn-raising system of prizes.

Long ago Thomas Jefferson undertook to have such a school founded in connection with the University of Virginia. But this beneficent project failed for lack of support. Men with money refused their aid then. Men with money, realizing the acute situation which has developed, are now going to the farmers and offering to co-operate. Truly times change, and men change with them, and necessity forces action in instances where it was formerly refused.

The movement so auspiciously begun at St. Paul is another bit of testimony to the greatness and foresight of such men as Washington and Jefferson. They saw clearly what it has taken the country more than a century to learn. The work must be done now which they undertook to have done in the early days of the republic. A whole century has been lost, but the determination which marks the present movement and the character of the men interested are sufficient guarantee that even though it begins late this historic effort will not lack abundant assistance.

To the Gold Fields of Forty-Nine by Way of Cape Horn

BY

MARGARET D. PLYMPTON

To Whom the Story of the Voyage was Told by the Captain's Wife

THIS journey, which helped make history, was made in 1849 when the "gold fever" was upon the country.

The ship Sweden was to sail from Boston, Mass., then a most important port, March the first, with a steerage—"between deckers," they were then called—of two hundred and sixteen men, and a few cabin passengers, all of whom willingly paid from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and seventy-five dollars in gold for their passage.

The crew was made up of would-be miners who were, of course, unskilled as seamen.

The night before sailing, by special invitation, all the passengers, who were inclined to do so, attended a service given by Father Taylor, a man well known in those days in the religious life of Boston.

With perfect remembrance I recall the timidity with which I followed the company to the front seats reserved for us, and with what fascination I listened to the strange speaker as he vividly portrayed the perils to come, the evils to be encountered and the hardships to be endured in that wonderful new land of gold to which we were going. The greatest interest and, to me, dreadful enthusiasm prevailed throughout the service and when the final silicitation ended I experienced such a feeling of relief as I shall never forget, nor the hurry with which I made my way to our boarding-place in Pearl Street, then a desirable residential locality.

The next morning opened a typical New England March day and a sadder company never left Boston than ours. Despite every effort towards order the ship seemed filled with miners' outfits, for every gold-seeker was supplied with bedding, waterproof clothing, pick-axes, shovels and utensils necessary for daily use in ship life, as the "between-deckers" cared for themselves much as do the steerage on ocean liners. The sight of groups of men lounging beside their possessions was most dreary, but fear and dread gave place to jollity as time passed, and the routine of ship life assumed something of interest for all.

One of the most interesting pastimes each day was to watch the giving out of the stores to the "between-deckers," who were allowed such fare as salted

beef, pork, or fish; beans, potatoes, rice, or corn-meal mush; hard-tack, or wheat bread; tea or coffee without milk and an allowance of fresh water to each man. A pretty exciting giving-out this last grew to be during a part of the voyage, for, the company being large, it was necessary to exercise the greatest care lest the water supply fail. Finally anxiety took full possession of us for the men demanded more than could possibly be given, and only the undaunted firmness of Captain Jesse Cotting prevented a real mutiny.

Another way of whiling time away was to visit the ship's baker when he was preparing his enormous bread-sponge. He would measure out the dry ingredients before diving into the flour barrel for a ball of dough left there at the previous day's mixing; the ball, being found, was next carefully dissolved with water and then there was the yeast for the day's new sponge. We otherwise busied ourselves with needlework, card and game playing of every sort. Some of our checkers, jack-straws and chessmen were clever imitations of ivory sets whittled out of odd bits of wood by the "between-deckers," who always shared the amusements, if not the table, of the few cabinites. Reading matter in those days was not as accessible to the multitude as now, so there was little reading done; but through the captain's clever understanding of human nature, we had been provided with a really good piano, and this saved us from actual dullness. Many of the men had good voices and the wife of a cabinite being a skillful performer, every evening and that part of Sunday not devoted to religious discourses were filled by music.

Once in a great while that monotony peculiar to a long voyage was broken by the sight of a distant sail, but we "spoke" no vessels, and only "made land" when Cape Horn was reached.

This landing was necessary that the captain might get bearings, but there was no opportunity for passengers to make discoveries ashore since it was Antarctic winter and dark from three o'clock in the afternoon till nine the next morning; and not only was there darkness, but "head" winds and frightful snow-squalls were encountered each of the several days we were rounding the Cape.

One could not realize, except through experience, the difference in weather experienced when once we were fairly into the Pacific Ocean. Pleasant days made navigation so easy every moment was a delight till we entered San Francisco Bay early in August, ending our one-hundred-and-fifty-five-days' voyage from Boston. When we were at last anchored our disappointment was something pitiable, for instead of a fruitful land we saw only a desolate stretch not unlike a New England berry pasture after a drought.

There were no wharves nor houses; nothing to be seen but a few tents glaringly white in the sun and heat peculiar to the California dry season. Nothing daunted, however, many of our "between-deckers," with their mining and housekeeping outfits, eagerly put off and soon were entirely separated from us. A few wisely made the ship their home, returning every few days with or without a "find," as fortune had or had not favored them. Some of the crew deciding to

give up all idea of mining, conceived the notion of making a wharf, and directly a very crude arrangement served all purposes of landing. The wharf constructed, ingenuity went a step further and an unseaworthy vessel was stripped of her masts, made fast at bow and stern, her deck housed over and San Francisco boasted of her first house, and as living was then, a very comfortable shelter it made for the settlers.

We lay in the bay from August till November and our experiences were varied, trying and almost serious, for illness seemed at times inevitable because of our inability to obtain vegetable food. At last this difficulty was partially overcome by using a part of the blossoms of the cactus and also a sort of watery gourd. On one occasion we procured a fifty-pound bag of potatoes costing seventy-five dollars in gold dust, and right royal feasting we had while they lasted.

Despite the danger and loneliness,—the cabin passengers having gone,—in which we daily lived there was a fascination in waking each morning to feel the ship swinging with the tide and to speculate upon what of interest would occur during the day. Would it be a trading bout with a trader from the Sandwich Islands, or a peep at treacherous Mexicans, who had brought salables up from Southern California, or the return of wearied "between-deckers" with the wonderful "find" nature had so long withheld from them.

Landing being unsafe and not a common occurrence for the Captain's family, we were thoroughly delighted upon leaving port in November to know that "port was to be made" both at San Diego and Valparaiso for a cargo of hides and Peruvian bark.

Having regained our personality and reawakened to the joys of life by touch with civilization again, we were fully prepared to enjoy the homeward voyage around the Horn.

Now it was Antarctic summer, all was light, beauty and pleasant doing and having. The games, light work and music with which we beguiled ourselves were thoroughly enjoyable and unaccompanied now by the tramp, tramp of "between-deckers."

At the end of fourteen months we were back in Boston, wiser, if not happier, in having had a long journey around part of the world to that enchanting land which, today, overflows with beauty and offers every comfort to the travelers who with a twinkling speed cover the long miles across the continent in a thirtieth of the time we consumed in our long voyage.

Cracroft

ARMS OF A LINCOLNSHIRE FAMILY WITH
AMERICAN DESCENDANTS

The Cracrofts held Cracroft Hall, at Hoggesthorpe, County Lincoln, England, as early as the Fourteenth Century

Glimpses of Colonial Life in Maryland Wills

MUCH interest always attaches to records which give us glimpses of the life, the manners and the customs of the people of the past. This applies with particular force to those who have been instrumental in settling or developing sections of our own country. Recent examinations of a great number of wills made by the early settlers of Maryland disclose many hitherto unknown facts regarding the manner of living which characterized society in Cavalier days. The unflinching and controlling spirit of those pioneers stands out very strongly from those manuscript documents and impresses even the casual observer with the unbending will which was a marked feature of the character of these men. There are fugitive glimpses of humor, of pathos which appeals very strongly to the emotions and often the thrilling note of tragedy and pain. There are stern commands which seem designed to force the children to feel the compelling commands of their father even after death has taken him away. These documents, indeed, indicate such variations in character and sentiment that it seems almost impossible such influence could have flowed from the same source.

Everything is set forth with a grandeur of expression that compels attention by its very magnitude. The spelling is usually by the shortest phonetic cuts, but whatever we may say of that we can not deny their originality of manner or their stateliness of diction. Nor can we accuse them of not taking themselves with a seriousness as absolute as it is appalling. There is a pontifical air to all their utterances which leaves us with no desire to take liberties, even with their memories.

The bequests in these wills include everything down to the most insignificant articles owned by the testator. It needs no ghost from those old graves to tell us of the manner in which these early colonists arrayed themselves or fitted up their homes. There are mentions of suits, dresses, waistcoats, petticoats, mantles of silk, satin, dimity, velvet, plush, cloth, taffeta, kersey and other favorite stuffs. There are hats with plumes and feathers; belts of gold and silver; gloves of silk and buckskin; scarfs, hoods and plenishings of fine brocade, with rings and necklaces, chains and corals, gold buttons, watches, and gold and silver buckles for knees, and shoes and mantles.

One will makes mention of a "bed-stet," with a quantity of Turkish rugs, mirrors, with heavy beveled glass, huge old dressers, chests of drawers, rich and old tables of all descriptions and sizes, various sorts of chairs, each mentioned and described, sealskin trunks with drawers in them, whatever such contraptions may mean, and a great many other articles whose use would be unknown today.

The glorified linen closet of the early Maryland housewife is much in evidence and its contents carefully entailed. Only those daughters who could appreciate such wealth were ever given a share. The selection of the legatee became of as much importance as the goods which were given away. Those closets, with their wonders, have passed away, but in these moldy documents their marvels live again and conjure the housewife of the present to a fuller realization of her wasted opportunities.

The earliest wills devote considerable space to the devising of pewter ware, with but a small quantity of silver. But as the years wear on silver increases in importance. During the last of these records it constitutes by far the larger proportion of the tableware left to relatives. Vessels of bell metal, brass and copper are numerous, while porcelain and services of china make their entrance. Not very much of the latter is included until late in the series examined, but it was evidently of excellent material when it did appear. Silver remains, but porcelain appears to supplement it in the furnishings of the table.

Not one of the wills mentions a table fork, though very many knives are devised, hence it is a reasonable assumption that this article of vast table utility was unknown to them. Perhaps it is only reasonable to assume that their fingers were in reality made before forks.

One harpsichord and one lone spinnet appears. Whatever may have been the merits of the performances upon these two instruments it must be remembered that "Music, heavenly maid," was very young in the colony at that time. Because of this she may be forgiven very many shortcomings.

Another will very carefully devises something now scarcely mentioned in polite society. Apparently it was much coveted, since the testator describes with some detail "my silver toothpick and my ear-picker." Such articles were not then made by the million from bits of wood which the colonists would have spurned as useless.

Before the Revolution English visitors record the magnificence of some of the colonial establishments, pointing out with much detail the size and beauty of situation of their houses, and their elaborate furnishings. Indeed, colonial days were not a time of privation and suffering for some, at any rate, and a clear understanding of these facts will clear away many of the misapprehensions regarding the pride of race and family which has been a characteristic of the descendants of those early colonists. They felt then, and their descendants have shared that sentiment, that they had a right to their pride.

There were many merry makings, wonderful excursions by land and water, great house parties, where hospitality was dispensed as lavishly as in baronial establishments in Europe, and other social amenities which made a lasting impression upon those fortunate enough to attend one of them.

All through the wills are allusions which prove the close relations of masters and slaves. Often the wills manumitted bond servants, granting them, in addition, stated sums of money. In some instances they were directed to assume

their former masters' surnames, "in remembrance of our connection," says one, and "of our past kind intercourse with one another," says another. Slavery then had not become the bitter thing it was later.

One feature of these wills appears somewhat amusing. The testators often attempted to fasten a good, strong string to them. They have a rather disconcerting way of pulling a weeping widow up short should she attempt to seek consolation in another love affair. "To my wife during her widowhood" must have been a sentence tinged with much of disappointment to more than one Colonial Dame.

The imperious Cavalier heart was loathe to lose its hold upon the quick, pulsing life of which it had long been a part. And the ghostly hands seem to reach out of the misty gulf beyond the grave and to seek to control, in some degree, at least, the actions of their relatives and friends by instructions included in the wills themselves. Continuously this indomitable spirit almost springs at one from the partially disintegrated page. It is just as recognizable there as it is in the records of the achievements of these same men whose valor and industry won a place for civilization in the wilderness.

The early life of these men comes very close to us as we pore over the musty records which they left behind when they exchanged life's dignity for death's distinction. One may, in imagination, live with them the life which so richly graced the Maryland of the early day. Its strength and its great influence upon what has afterward become more and more apparent as one ponders over the great tomes and comes to appreciate more than ever before the dominant characteristics of the men who made early Maryland.

Evans

COAT-ARMOR ASCRIBED TO LOTT EVANS,
PHILADELPHIA, 1681

A Souvenir of the Days of the "Underground Railroad"

BY

LUCIE P. STONE

Granddaughter of Captain Richard Perkins

THIS cautiously-phrased letter, written twenty years before the Emancipation of the Negroes, is a reminder of the problems presented to conscientious men and women who desired to be law-abiding, but who held deep convictions as to human rights.

The identity of the writer, who signs himself "X. Y. Z.," is unknown, but he appears to have been a member of the Society of Friends,—as were many of the helpers of the slaves. The "A. B. C.," to whom the letter is addressed, was sent "to the care of Thomas Perkins," but it was found among the papers of Captain Richard Perkins, who had been a paymaster in the War of 1812. THE EDITOR.

Short Creek, Harrison Co Ohio, 2d Mo 21st 1844.

DEAR FRIEND

Thy letter did not reach me directly, it being on the road about 12 days while it should have come in 5 however I lose no time in complying with thy request And in the first place I have to say that thou wast mistaken in imputing the favour confered by the anti Slavery standard to me I never sent that paper to any person in Virginia but if my friend is pleased with it and wishes it sent to him I will endeavour to procure it and have it forwarded regularly

As to the "information" that is so desirable to my friend I cannot at present put him in the possession of any that would be available I have however heard that there were men in virginia who pointed out the north star to that "unfortunate class" and gave them something to keep off the hounds by which they might be attack until Mason's and Dickson's line were reached when no such guides or guards were necessary. But the people of this country think it is a pity to drain off the bone and sinew of any country by withdrawing its producers we are therefore willing that this "unfortunate class" should remain but we cannot see why any particular class in a country should be unfortunate if there is such a class in your settlement certainly there is not a patriot son of virginia but what would lend a helping hand fourthwith certainly there situation need only be made known to ensure immediate relief

But for fear there are some "galling chains that bind them so unwillingly" employed by some persons in your country I will venture to propose the most efficient remedy Let my friend, and every one els who have their eyes opened to the enormity of the evil buckle on their armour and go fourth voliently proclaim the truth cry aloud and spare not tell the people who employ the "galling chains" that they set a bad example to their children who are generally brought up in idleness which begets want vice and misery tell them that they render honest labour disreputable and therefore in order to avoid it men will resort to almost any expedient and when all others fail Mexico or Texas opens a new prospect to their view Tell these people they stand in their own light if they would take off the "galling chain" and substitute cash in place of the lash as a stimulant to toil they would get more labour done and if they deny it ask them which *they* had rather work for and mark the answer tell them that their practice and theory do not correspond tell them the worn out fields and deserted dwellings in some places speak in thunders tones against their practice tell them the old dominion once the flower of America now dwindling into comparative insignificance notwithstanding it possesses the greatest natural advantages of any state in the Union tell them that happiness must necessarily be a stranger when the turmoil and strife consequent upon keeping the galling chains in place is always present tell them the product of forced labour costs more than it comes to tell them to remove the "galling chains" and convert the "unfortunate class" into allies and frinds on whom they could depend then they might dispense with locks and keys bars and bolts pistols dirks cowhides and whips &c &c Tell them that all these temporary means such as A. B. C. enquired for will not radically cure the evil if any thing rather increase it Let them know that men are creatures of understanding and as soon as they are sufficiently convinced of any evil they will abandon it and they cannot do it before; it is nonsense to ask them until they are satisfyed in their own minds; but the truth will bear upon all men if presented in the right way therefore accuse no man of dishonest motives if you claim honesty for yourself but admit that education and physical construction combined universally form the human mind and education in morals like that of politicks admits of improvement and should be as studiously considered every age should improve the talents committed to its care in the first place let it be admitted that our forefathers practices should form no guide for us unless they were based on correct principles let nothing but truth be our polar star and righteousness our way mark who can have any objections to enlist under such colours What man so blind as not to be willing to know all he can upon any subject so deeply intwined as that of galling chains. I have been informed that some of these men are apt to get angry even to hear the delicate subject mentioned ask all such what is the reason of that It certainly cannot be that they are afraid of being enlightened Ask them if they are afraid of having the draft of publick opinion turned against them if so tell them that men who are conscious of truth on their side can meet the boisterous waves of publick thought without a frown tell them

not to be alarmed that truth us your only object and if they convince you that "galling chains" and such like things are the best that can be employed you will adopt them yourself if on the other hand you convince them they will of course discard these implements amongst other things. Ask them if they ever read the golden rule of doing unto others as you would have others do unto you if they say yes then ask them how the galling chains could be worn by them ask them if they are not sleeping over a volcano that may burst fourth with terrible eruptions tell them to convert the unfortunate class into friends and avert any danger that may be gathering at home or abroad I remain thy friend
please write again immediately X. Y. Z.

(*On the outside of the folded letter*):

Shortcreek O
Feb 24 18 3/4

A. B. C.

Lynchburg

to the care of
Thomas Perkins Va.

ARMS OF WILLIAM ASFORDBY, SHERIFF OF ULSTER COUNTY, NEW YORK, IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The Mason and Dixon Line

MASON and Dixon's line, which marked the boundary between the free and slave States, was not an imaginary division. A survey was begun by Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon in 1763. Thomas and Richard Penn, interested in Pennsylvania, and Lord Baltimore, who was interested in the settlement of Maryland, were in London at the time. The controversy over the boundary had already lasted more than a century, and to settle it this survey was ordered.

The question had been so acute that more than once bloodshed had followed the continuous misunderstanding. The early charters granting the territory, like most granted in those times, overlapped, or duplicated the grants. This led to endless difficulty and misunderstanding. To settle all these controversies these two surveyors were sent out with these instructions: "To mark, run out, settle, fix and determine all such parts of the marks, lines, and boundaries, as were mentioned in the several articles and commissions, and were not yet completed."

Mason and Dixon at once determined the latitude and longitude of Philadelphia and accepted as correct the Maryland Peninsula east and west line, together with the circle of twelve miles radius about Newcastle, Delaware, as run by the colonial surveyors. This left them to determine the Peninsula north and south line, running from the middle point of the Eastern Shore. An east and west line was to be run passing through a point fifteen miles south of the southernmost point of Philadelphia, extending westward five degrees of longitude from the Delaware River, to serve as the southern boundary of the lands of William Penn, now Pennsylvania. This east and west line established the northeastern corner of Maryland, which was the beginning of the parallel of latitude agreed upon as the boundary between the provinces.

June 17, 1765, they reached the Susquehanna River, where they received instructions to carry the line "as far as the provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania are settled and inhabited." June 4, 1766, they had pushed as far west as Little Alleghany, but the Indians were troublesome and the surveyors were obliged to cease work for about a year. The following June they began their work where they ended the year before and under protection of an escort of Indians pushed westward, and ultimately reached a point two hundred and forty-four miles from the Delaware River. Here the Indians of the escort told the surveyors that it was the desire of the Six Nations that they should stop. Acting upon this hint the party returned to Philadelphia and on December 26, 1767, were discharged. In brief, this is the history of the Mason and Dixon line, which afterward formed the demarcation between the North and South.

The line is many times confounded with parallel thirty-six degrees, thirty minutes, north latitude, which was established by the Missouri Compromise of

1820, as the northernmost limit to which slavery could be carried in the territories. As a matter of historic fact, the Mason and Dixon line was a reality for almost a century before the Civil War.

Nor was the supposition that it marked the boundary between the North and South altogether true. Delaware, a slave State, was north of it and Maryland south of it, was divided in sentiment and furnished troops to both the Northern and Southern armies.

To go over all the controversies and misunderstandings which arose between 1606, the year the London Company was organized, and 1767, when the survey was finally completed, would require too much space. The troubles were not essentially different from those which have occurred with reference to boundaries elsewhere. Only an official survey could settle the matter. Its historic interest remains, but the significance which attached to it during the slavery contest passed away forever when the Civil War closed.

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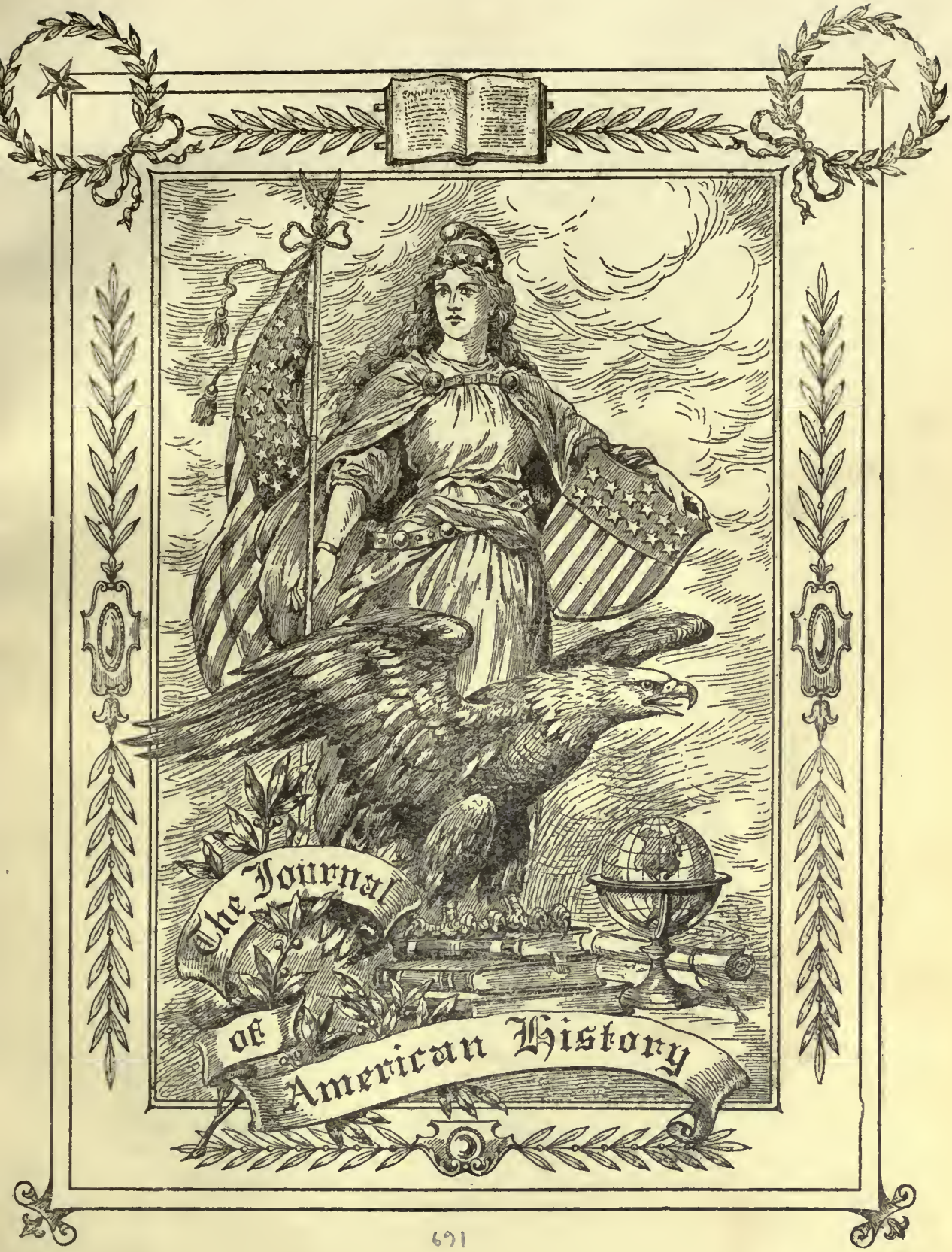
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Bassett

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Carter.

COAT-ARMOR OF THE CARTER FAMILY DESCENDING FROM JOHN CARTER, BURGESS FOR UPPER NORFOLK COUNTY, VIRGINIA, 1649, AND FOR LANCASTER COUNTY, 1664

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This name appears in the Colonial records both of North and South. The Arms of the Landons of Virginia are distinct from these.

PROVIDENCE FROM TWO MILES DOWN THE BAY

MARKET SQUARE

The Journal of American History

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FOURTH QUARTER

A Painter of Old Providence

Edward Lewis Peckham, Son of a Distinguished Family of Colonial Rhode Island, the Artist-Chronicler of the Providence of Bygone Generations & His Exquisit Water-Color, Sepia, and Black-and-White Drawings, A Collection of Notable Historical Importance, as Well as of Artistic Beauty and of Charm to the Lover of Nature, Now for the First Time Reproduced for the Journal of American History

BY

STEPHEN FARNUM PECKHAM

Associate Editor of The Journal of American History, Author of the Peckham Genealogy.

THE Journal of American History has great pleasure in reproducing for its readers these charming and most valuable pictures made in Providence in 1830. It is doubtful if any other American town or city has ever had such a pictorial record made, and it is owing to the artistic abilities of Mr. Edward Lewis Peckham and his filial love for the city of his ancestors that we of to-day can see the old town as it was three-quarters of a century and more ago.

Providence now is one of the great business centres of our country. At the period when these pictures were made, it was hardly more than a large, straggling village town, still with its lovely rural scenes, its quaint landmarks, and its reminiscent charm of a still earlier, still simpler Providence. The contrast between the

town as set forth in the pictures and the city as it stands today is extraordinary, and certainly a vivid emphasis on the lightning-like progress which has developed America since she became a Nation.

The work of Edward Lewis Peckham was delicately minute and instinct with a sympathetic understanding of Nature and her beauty of line and color. The Journal of American History has taken the utmost pains to secure absolutely faithful reproductions in four colors of his water-colors, together with others in sepia and black-and-white of his drawings in sepia, Indian ink, and pencil.

It has not been found possible to include the entire collection of the Providence pictures in one issue of The Journal of American History, and they will be reproduced in the two following issues of the magazine, as well as in this present one. We regret that ten of the exquisite water-colors have been reproduced in too small an edition to place in The Journal. But any subscriber who wishes to make his set of the pictures complete can secure the others, until the exhaustion of this smaller edition. Announcement regarding this appears elsewhere in this magazine.

THE EDITOR.

Edward Lewis Peckham

EDWARD LEWIS PECKHAM was born in Providence, Rhode Island, June 4, 1812, and died in the same city October 30, 1889. He was never married. He was the son of Thomas Peckham, Junior, and wife, Sarah Wardwell, daughter of Colonel Samuel Wardwell, of Bristol, Rhode Island. His father spent his entire life in the Customs service of the Unted States, having been more than thirty years Deputy Collector of the Port of Providence. Edward Peckham was fitted for college, but did not enter upon the course. While a good student, he was a born artist, and, notwithstanding the sincere and determined opposition of his father, without encouragement or instruction, he acquired great skill in pencil and water-color drawing. This was in part due to the fact that he came of an ancestry, on both sides, possessed of the artistic temperament. In manner of execution he was very exact, but occasionally in his work as a caricaturist he resembled George Cruikshank, and if his early life had been spent under more encouraging conditions, with better instruction, he would, no doubt, have taken very high rank among American caricaturists.

In early life he acquired a knowledge of the Spanish language, and spent some years in Cuba, Charleston, South Carolina, and Florida. Returning North, he spent several years in his uncle's store at Albany, New York, and, later, essayed a mercantile adventure on his own account. Later still he was employed

in the Merchants' Bank in Providence, Rhode Island, but he did not take kindly to mercantile pursuits, regarding them rather as a necessity than an occupation.

His soul was in art, and, as early as 1829, when seventeen years old, he made drawings in pencil of Roger Williams' Rock, and other historic scenes in and around the Providence of that date that are truly photographs of the originals. These he enlarged and drew in India ink about 1860. Later, he again re-drew them for framing. Fearing that the colors would fade, in the closing years of his life he re-drew, with exquisite care, nearly the whole series and bound them into a book. He left all of these drawings that he preserved to the Rhode Island Historical Society, into whose custody the last of them have recently passed. This Society very kindly placed at the disposal of The Journal of American History the entire collection, taking some from the wall and out of their frames for the convenience of the engravers in New York.

Edward Peckham's perception was so keen that he caught at a glance the ludicrous aspects of every situation, and with pen or pencil transferred them with unerring accuracy to paper. This was to be particularly remarked of the incidents of the Dorr War, in which he took part, many aspects of which were very amusing. With the reticence characteristic of his race, most of this work was done anonymously. He often nailed his drawing in some public place, and then, from some coign of vantage, watched the appreciation of the crowd, which he enjoyed immensely.

From about 1830 to 1835 he commenced to study botany with that group of Rhode Island botanists, Stephen Thayer Olney, George Hunt, and George Thurber. With them, and also alone, he traversed the picturesque hills which surround Providence, from Cumberland on the north to Worden's Pond on the south, and the islands and shores of Narragansett Bay. The flora of the northern hills of Cumberland partakes of the characteristics of that of northern New England, while that of the slope of the Narragansett country, bordering Long Island Sound, more nearly resembles that of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. A more varied flora in the same area cannot be found in the country. Into this these young men plunged.

Peckham's companions all became noted botanists, and gathered large herbaria of dried plants, while he, knowing less of botany, painted in water-colors, during forty years, five hundred New England plants, which drawings Dr. Asa Gray declared were the most perfect representations of New England plants that he had ever seen. So exact to nature are they that they are practically colored photographs, in many instances, of the entire plant, root, stem, leaf, and flower. These long walks developed in the solitary man a sympathetic communion with and love of Nature that was, perhaps, best expressed in an acrostic which he wrote on his own name, and which he used as a dedication to one of the volumes into which his flower pieces are bound. It is as follows:

"Enamored of the woods and fields,
Deep bogs and shady bowers,
Where Nature prodigally yields
A varied store of flowers;
Roam I about from fancy free,
Delighted with the charms I see.

"Low down the vale, high o'er the hill,
Every nook where a foot hath strayed;
Winding along some babbling rill,
In sunshine now—and now in shade;
Seeking beside its water pure,
Perchance some lily to secure.

"E'en so I've wandered many a mile,
Collecting plants of every hue,
Keeping my thoughts estranged from guile,
Holding them bound to Nature true;
And here portrayed those gathered flowers,
Memorials of most pleasant hours.

"Sept. 7, 1856."

EDWARD LEWIS PECKHAM,
The Painter of Old Providence

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ORT HILL

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PROVIDENCE FROM A MILE AND A HALF DOWN THE BAY

Providence Before 1850

First Settlements by William Blackstone, Richard Scott, William Carpenter, and Others—The Coming of Roger Williams—Providence of the Early Nineteenth Century, with its Simplicity of Life, its Beginnings of Modern Business, and Its Still Charmingly Rural Environs, Fair with Flowers and Restful with Solitude—The Days of the Great Merchants, Whose Ships Sailed Every Sea—Transition Period and the Beginning of the New Providence, the Second Ranking City of New England

BY

STEPHEN FARNUM PECKHAM

THE first settlement in the area which is now Rhode Island was made near the village of Berkeley, near Lonsdale, in what was then the Province of Massachusetts. This settlement was made by William Blackstone near the banks of the river which has taken his name. Although there is no record concerning it, subsequent events lead to the conclusion that, about the same time, Richard Scott obtained a residence near what is now Saylesville, but which in early times was called Moshasuck. Also, at about the same time, William Carpenter and others made a settlement on the Pautuxet River. Soon after, in 1636, Roger Williams, and others, came from his retirement across the Blackstone River to the present site of Providence, and established themselves on the east shore of the Cove at the head of Narragansett Bay.

Roger Williams' deed from the Indian Sachems embraced a tract of country extending from Woonsocket on the north to the Pautuxet River on the south, and from the Seven Mile Line, which marks the eastern boundary of the towns of Burrillville, Gloucester, and Scituate on the west, to the Blackstone River on the east; a tract of country more than sixteen miles, north and south, by about six miles wide. The settlement of Providence occupied a small part of this area; the remainder was the Providence Plantations. The Cove received the waters of the Woonasquetucket River at its northwest corner, and the Moshasuck River at the northeast corner, while these waters were discharged into the Bay at the southeast corner. The Cove was about a mile in circumference, with sandy beaches on the west and north sides.

In 1823 the building of the Blackstone Canal was begun, and finished in about five years. What its effect on the commerce of Providence may have been I am unable to say, but I am quite certain that the community of that period, in general occupying the Blackstone Valley, did not share the enthusiastic expectations entertained by Stephen Hopkins Smith and the other promoters of that enterprise. The canal followed the Blackstone River to a point near Lonsdale, and then, by locks, crossed over to the head waters of the Moshasuck River, and, following it to Providence, entered the Cove, as before stated, at its northeast corner, just below the Smith Street bridge. Here was the canal basin, where the boats were loaded and discharged.

My earliest recollections go back to witnessing the passage of the boats through the locks at Saylesville. My grandfather, Stephen Farnum, assisted in the construction of the locks between Woonsocket and Providence. He several times told me the story—and showed me the lock at Manville where it occurred—that one day while he was engaged in adjusting a gate at the bottom of the lock, in the water up to his knees, he heard General Carrington's cheery voice calling, "Farnum, what are you doing down there?" "Putting your money where you will never see it again," was his reply. After the canal had gone into desuetude, I occasionally accompanied my grandfather on rides along the road that bordered the canal between Woonsocket and Providence. He showed me various places where the canal had been nicely walled above and below the locks, and was then used as trenches for the various mills that had been built along the Blackstone River, Whether or not, in this way, General Carrington ever saw any of the money he put into the locks I am unable to say.

Providence, as originally laid out, was built along a street which extended from Mile End Cove, near Fox Point, along the Harbor and the Cove, up Constitution Hill, and out into the country towards Pawtucket. After a time Benefit Street was constructed, parallel with the Town Street, which was named North and South Main Street. The cross streets ran east and west over the hill. I can remember when Brook Street followed an open brook, and when Hope Street had few houses on it. At the time of the sketches, most of the region east of Thayer Street was embraced in Governor Fenner's farm, while the recent construction of the Asylum wall enclosed the building and grounds of the Dexter Asylum like a fortress. East of the Asylum wall was the farm of Moses Brown, with the woods of Cat Swamp to the North.

At the period from which my uncle's earliest sketches date, 1829, Providence had a population of less than seventeen thousand. By 1850 the population had reached the numbers of forty-one thousand, five hundred. In 1832, when Providence became a city, the population was estimated at about twenty thousand. Life was very simple. Providence was governed by Town Meetings, with all the advantages and disadvantages of an overgrown village. Canal Street had no

buildings on the west side, but was preserved by an embankment from the inroads of the waters of the Cove. Buildings of that period, on the west side of Westminster Street, contained the shops, in the rear of which were the store houses, which also bordered the Cove.

In 1838 the State Prison was built near where the Woonasquetucket River enters the Cove. To the east of the prison, on the north side, was a place called Sandy Bottom, where the boys from all directions went to bathe. The tide ebbed and flowed, under the great bridge by Market Square, from the Harbor into the Cove. On the north side of the Cove small vessels were built, and the cargoes of small vessels were received and discharged along Canal Street and what is now the south line of Exchange Place. Many boys, including my uncle, Edward, learned to sail catboats on the Cove before venturing down the Bay.

The Cove has practically disappeared. All that is left of it are covered channels leading to the head of the Harbor at the end of the bridge. One day in September, 1815, during a terrific southeast gale, the waters of Narragansett Bay were driven into Market Square so deep that they floated a sloop into the Square, which was left high and dry when the tide receded. Many persons, who regard the events of nature, constantly recurring, even at long intervals, wonder what will become of the valuable buildings, built on the site of the Cove, when the next September gale comes along.

As I remarked, the habits of the people were simple, and in matters of dress were independent of the tyranny of fashion. Before the period of our sketches, cloth, both linen and woolen, was largely of home manufacture. Calico, and other printed goods, were yet to become domestic products. A limited amount was imported, and, at a high price, was used in place of silk. "Hairepenella" cost two shillings per yard. Tobacco was retailed at sixpence per pound. Carpenters were paid one shilling per day. Jewsharps were eighteenpence per dozen. Indian corn was sold for two and three shillings per bushel; rye for two shillings and eightpence. Beef brought one and half pence per pound; pork, twopence; butter, sixpence, and sugar, one shilling. Coin was so scarce that corn, rye, beef, pork, butter, and the Indian money called Wampum-peage, were received in payment of taxes.

The destruction of squirrels was promoted by premiums. Whoever killed a wolf in Providence limits was entitled to a tax of a halfpenny per head from every owner of cattle. Compensation for services was generally very small. Intentions of marriage were posted in any public place; nailed to a tree or a fence post, or published at Town Meeting. Town Meetings were called by the beating of a drum, a custom that continued until 1836. I, myself, heard the last town crier of Providence proclaim the loss of a boy: "Boy lost, boy lost; striped breeches; mother reeking with sorrow."

My uncle's sketches cover a period from 1829 to 1846. The old Town House,

although drawn in 1860, belongs to this period. As I was born in 1839, ten of the seventeen years ran before I was born, and seven years after. Great changes took place in Providence during this time. It was the time when the buildings of the city began to be constructed for ornament as well as for use. In 1828 the Arcade was built, extending from Westminster to Weybosset Streets, and adorned on each façade with a row of massive granite columns. It was a rather rough attempt at imitating a Greek temple. The massive columns were quarried on one of the hills in Johnston, out beyond Centredale. It required fourteen yoke of oxen to draw them into the city. While one of them was being conveyed along the road a bystander asked to what use such a big stone could be put. He was answered: "They are building an archangel in the city."

It was the time of railroad building. Notwithstanding this fact, the town and municipal life at Providence still continued extremely simple. I remember Market Square as the chief market place of the city, but I do not remember ever seeing cord-wood for sale there. I have no doubt, however, that it was sold there, as I have frequently heard the story told that it was no unusual spectacle, at this time, to see the elder Governor Sprague passing down Westminster Street, driving his double team of oxen, in his shirt sleeves, with a load of wood to be exchanged for cotton and madder on the return trip to Cranston.

My grandfather Peckham, who had built and lived in the house at the south corner of Arnold and Benefit Streets, had an enormous woodshed, in which he stored every year several cords of hickory wood, which as a child I helped him pile. All the cooking done in that house was then done with the appliances used in cooking before an open fire, and the living rooms were heated by open fires. At that time, too, stoves were unknown at my grandfather's in Cumberland and at my father's at Fort Hill. I well remember my grandfather, frequently before the rest of the family had risen, roasting oysters on a bed of live hickory coals which he had drawn from the ashes. Every morning, after breakfast, he took his basket on his arm and went out to market, and brought home the articles for the day's dinner. Providence, at that time, received but few supplies by sea, as by far the greater portion of food stuffs was brought in by the farmers of Swansea, Seekonk, and Rehoboth in Massachusetts, and the northern and western towns of Rhode Island.

The country was within easy walking distance of Providence Bridge in any direction. Many years ago I wrote of the period a little later than that of our sketches: "Thirty years ago it was not impossible in an afternoon's stroll of a few miles from Market Square to find the pathless woods, and, in sympathy with Byron's immortal verse, 'to mingle with the Universe,' and experience their exquisite pleasure. Then the arbutus grew along the banks of West River, between the old Randall Mill and Geneva. The sweet little twin flower swung its tiny bells beneath the pines, long since gone, that once stood behind Branch Bridge

INDIA POINT FROM FOX POINT SHORE
Drawing made in 1832

THE AMERICAN HOUSE

From a drawing made about 1845. This building has stood for many years on the corner of North Main and Steeple Streets, directly opposite the First Baptist Church. After it ceased to be the American House, it became known as the Earle House. It was then occupied by the Gorham Company. The humble beginning of the great Gorham corporation was in a single room on Steeple Street, but at the time this picture was made they had expanded somewhat, as their sign extends across the building, giving the business as "Silver Spoons and Jewelry." Another sign witnesses that it was "A Silver Thimble Manufactury." Later the Gorhams occupied the entire block, from North Main to Canal Street. On the opposite side of Steeple Street, near the middle of the block, Jonathan Congdon, his sons, and grandsons, have kept a hardware store in the same building for more than a hundred years.

schoolhouse. The rhodora proclaimed every spring near Eagle Park 'that beauty is its own excuse for being,' and a little farther out, beyond Woodville, an herbarium might be filled in an afternoon's ramble near the old John Farnum Smith limekiln. The writer of these lines once put into a bouquet one species of yellow violet, two of white violets, and four of blue violets, with other wild flowers to be found in a single grove northwest of Fruit Hill.

"Those who now would find 'society where none intrudes' can no longer cultivate a love of nature by rambles along the shores of the Seekonk above the Red bridge, and take in the Grotto and Cat Swamp; for, although the relative proportions of land and water remain the same as forty years ago, the essential medium of all communion with nature—the naturalness of the objects associated—is wanting. The exuviæ of civilization everywhere offend the sensitive eye and sorely distress the spirit; and, while one is forced to admit that the homes of men and women are rising on every side, to make thousands more comfortable and happy, at the same time he cannot withhold his sympathy from Ruskin when he declares his hatred for factories and railroads. Yet, if the factories must needs be, how could we live without the railroads also, for, without their aid, how could we get away from the factories and into the pathless woods?" The Blackstone Canal was far more picturesque than the Worcester Railroad, and Slate Rock is gone forever.

At the time of our sketches, Providence was a commercial city, from which ships sailed over all the world. Led by Brown and Ives, the prominent merchants of that period were Samuel Butler and Sons, Edward Carrington, the Nightingales, and the Russells. The house of Brown and Ives made its wealth principally in the tea and silk trade with China, yet their ships sailed every sea. They had a well-known reputation for business enterprise and integrity, and their credit was equal to that possessed by any house in the country. Earlier than the time of our sketches, when the population of Providence was only eight or ten thousand people, they had established a business as shipping merchants, and were doing a very large trade.

In 1798, they built a ship which they named the *Ann and Hope; Ann,* for the name of Mrs. Brown, and *Hope,* for the name of Mr. Brown's sister, the wife of Thomas P. Ives. Her length of keel was ninety-eight feet; her breadth of beam, thirty-two feet and one inch; depth of hold, thirteen feet; between decks, six feet, four inches. She registered five hundred and fifty tons, and was built throughout of white oak timber, cut in the winter of 1795, and thoroughly water seasoned. No pains were spared in her construction to make her durable and perfect, at a cost over all of more than fifty thousand dollars. Her first voyage out was to Canton, China, taking specie packed in five iron-bound kegs and thirty-one boxes. Her cargo for the return voyage was procured, and consisted of seventeen hundred and twenty-five chests of Bohea tea; nearly fifteen hundred

chests of other teas; one hundred and thirty boxes of chinaware, dinner and tea sets; five hundred bales, containing fifty pieces of nankeens, and eight boxes containing three hundred and ninety-two pieces of assorted silks. The payment for this cargo was made by use of the specie shipped out by Mr. Samuel Snow, the super-cargo. For the balance, he gave notes on behalf of Brown and Ives, at twenty months, payable in Canton. The ship carried a crew of fifty-six men. She sailed direct for Providence in February, 1799, and reached the home city June 15 of that year. This was doing business on a very long credit, at the risk of either great profit or great loss, and had to be conducted by men of the strictest honor all around.

On her future voyages she took out furs, specie, hogsheads of West India rum, tobacco, Cuban sugars, flour in barrels, and tons of logwood and fustic. At London she would take on board, for Canton, broadcloths, Prussian blue, watches, glassware, cutlery, porter, beer, and ale. On the return voyage she brought teas, cassia, silks, ribbons, fans, chinaware, mats, window-shades, umbrellas, and sweetmeats. Her fourth and fifth voyages were from Providence to Batavia, Cowes, Amsterdam, St. Petersburg, and home *via* New York. The ship sailed from Warwick Neck, May 20, 1802, and arrived at Batavia after a passage of ninety-four days. Included in the cargo were spermaceti candles, Russia ducks and sheetings, camlets, cloths, and crown glass. Her return cargo consisted of sugars and coffee. She came home by way of Cowes, Isle of Wight, Amsterdam, Cronstadt, and New York, stopping at these places to trade and change cargoes.

Her sixth and last voyage was from Providence to Batavia, *via* Lisbon and the Isle of France; returning, *via* Cape of Good Hope and Cowes, for orders, or direct to Providence. She returned with coffee, sugar, and pepper. She sprung a leak and put into the Isle of France for repairs, at a cost of about twenty thousand dollars. While off the Island she was boarded by the English Man of War, *Tremendous,* Commodore Osborn, and strictly searched. The Commodore refused the ship liberty to enter port, but after close examination allowed her to land. After leaving the Cape of Good Hope nothing worthy of mention occurred until, on the 10th of January, 1803, she struck on Block Island. As soon as the Island was sighted, the ship's course had been altered so as to pass it, but she ran in too close and went ashore. All but three of the crew were saved. The sugar was dissolved in the water, the coffee broken up and lost, and only about sixty bags of the pepper were washed ashore. The entire cargo was worth about three hundred thousand dollars. The experience of this vessel is given somewhat in detail to illustrate the manner in which foreign trade was carried on, by means of a super-cargo and casks of specie, before the days of the Suez Canal, steamships, submarine telegraphs, wireless telegraphy, and bills of exchange.

The Carringtons also owned ships which sailed to all countries. Some of the

old-time merchants were willing to take great risks for the sake of large profits. Samuel Butler is reported to have made a fortune in Revolutionary times by sailing his own sloop from Providence to Alexandria, Virginia. He was engaged in the flour trade.

The importance of the commerce of Providence, prior to the period of our sketches, may be estimated from the fact that on March 4, 1814, there were between one hundred and thirty and one hundred and forty vessels in port; and at the time of the great gale of 1815, there were in the harbor thirty-five sailing vessels, four of which were ships, one of over five hundred tons, while the remainder comprised nine brigs, seven schooners, and fifteen sloops. From the declaration of peace, in February, to May, 1815, there were entered at the port of Providence one hundred and ninety-one vessels.

The ships engaged in foreign commerce landed their cargoes at the wharves at Fox Point, where the New York steamers now land. These cargoes were reshipped to merchants in New York and Boston, and carried inland on teams. The men who promoted the enterprise of building a canal to Worcester were those engaged in this commerce, and they thus sought an outlet for their cargoes to the interior of Massachusetts. A large amount of domestic commerce, which has now gone mainly to New York, followed the division and sale of these cargoes. Besides this domestic commerce, Providence was a port from which large amounts of domestic trade in corn, flour, sugar, and molasses reached the interior. The vessels which brought these materials to Providence landed their cargoes on the east side of the harbor, on the wharves fronting South Water Street. They also brought thousands of tons of madder, and other articles used in dyeing, bleaching, and calico printing.

In May, 1828, the Board of Directors of Internal Improvements of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts applied to the General Assembly of Rhode Island for leave to make surveys for a railroad from Boston to Providence. Permission was granted and the surveys were made. Nothing followed until 1831, when the Boston and Providence railroad was incorporated in Massachusetts and the road finished to India Point, on the Rhode Island side of the mouth of the Blackstone River, June 11, 1832. The same month, the New York and Providence and Boston Railroad was incorporated in Connecticut and Rhode Island, which road was opened for travel November 10, 1837. A steam ferry connected the depot at India Point with that at Sassafras Point, on the west side of Providence Harbor, where the railroad now has a large coal pocket. The company also established a line of steamboats from Stonington, on Long Island Sound, to New York.

In 1844, the Providence and Worcester Railroad was started, and was opened for traffic on October 23, 1847. I well remember the occasion, which was celebrated by running a special train, for the stockholders of the road, from Provi-

dence to Worcester. This road followed the Blackstone River until it reached a point above Lonsdale, where it crossed the river and came down through Valley and Central Falls and Pawtucket, entering Providence near where the canal basin was formerly situated. It was the first of the railroads, which entered Providence, to run to Market Square. The others soon followed, and the Union Depot was built in 1848. The demand for room for the freight business of the railroad led to the partial filling in of the Cove, which, being continued, has caused the Cove to disappear. It also caused the leveling of the bluff which overlooked the space between Fox Point and India Point, and the construction of the line of wharves where the Baltimore steamers now come in, and where the Union Oil Company has its cotton oil factory.

The sketches tell the story of the transformation which has taken place in that part of Providence far better than it can be expressed in words. The Observatory, which was built of wood, three or four stories high, and from which a fine view could be obtained of the city, the harbor, Pomham Rocks, and the head of Narragansett Bay, has disappeared, and even the land on which it stood is there no longer. I remember, as a very small child, climbing to the topmost story and looking out on the pretty landscape of mingled land and water.

For many years after the disappearance of the Observatory, an eyrie, from which nearly the same view could be obtained, and, in addition, a bird's-eye view of the Blackstone River nearly to Pawtucket, was found in the old fort which was erected on an eminence on the east side of the Blackstone River, of which one of the sketches, called Fort Hill, gives a view. From this eyrie, looking towards the city, the nearest object was India Point and the bridge known as Washington Bridge, built by John Brown. The road over this bridge led to Swansea and Fall River. Above this bridge, in the middle foreground, is another bridge, built by Moses Brown, the road over which led to Rehoboth. It was built of wood and painted red—from which circumstance it was called Red Bridge.

These bridges were originally toll bridges; later made free bridges, and later still replaced by iron structures. Between the two bridges, on the west side, was Slate Rock, the reputed landing place of Roger Williams and those who accompanied him when he first set foot on Rhode Island soil. Tradition relates that, after landing at this point, he re-embarked, sailed out of the Blackstone River, and, rounding Fox Point, entered the Cove and made a final landing near its northeast corner, at the mouth of the Moshasuck River.

As above stated, Slate Rock was reputed to have been the first landing place of Roger Williams upon Rhode Island soil. It was a mass of rock of soft, homogeneous slate, which projected from the bed rock which underlies the hill upon which the east side of Providence is built. The mass lay at the foot of a bluff forty or fifty feet high. It was, at high tide, nearly surrounded by water, and formed a very convenient landing place, as the sandy beach on both sides

THE COVE

THE OBSERVATORY

of it had a gentle slope for a long distance. The rock, as it appeared when I first saw it, and for many years afterwards, is drawn in the sketch with absolute accuracy. One element of its appearance, which was too minute to be given in detail by drawing, consisted in various carvings in the soft rock made by the jack knives of innumerable boys who had carved their names, with dates, upon it.

One pleasant summer day, when I was about six years old, my father started with me from his father's house in Arnold Street for a tramp over to Slate Rock. We had gone but a few blocks when we were beyond the houses on Power Street, and a few blocks further brought us to the house and outbuildings of Governor Fenner, which, as I remember, stood alone, as the houses on a large farm. Keeping on beyond the farm houses we entered a large pasture, and, still farther on, we descended the bluff which bordered the Blackstone River, sometimes called, below Pawtucket, the Seekonk River. This must have been about 1845. My father first told me the story of Roger Williams, which, of course, to a child of my years, meant very little. I took more interest in the numerous carvings which covered the rock, among which my father showed me the names of his brothers, with his own.

I frequently visited the rock during the years which intervened between that first visit and the opening of the Civil War. There were very few changes in its appearance. In the latter years of this period I often took young women rowing around Fox Point and India Point under Washington Bridge, up to Slate Rock, on beyond under Red Bridge, to the east side of the river, following very nearly, in all probability, the course taken by Roger Williams. We often landed on the east side and visited friends who lived near Rumford. The great distributing plant of the Standard Oil Company, below Red Bridge on the east side, was then undreamed of. When I came back from the West in 1880, the rock had been blasted away and the bluff graded down so as to cover the site of it. Pieces of the rock, with the names carved on them, were distributed among those that survived. Pieces of the rock were also engraved with the Seal of the city, which were widely distributed for paper weights.

Although the Rhode Island community spent most of its time indulging serious thoughts, it sometimes smiled, and occasionally took a day off. Rocky Point was then unthought of, and Crescent Park would have been abhorred. The major portion of the male population went fishing and clamming. Sometimes they took their sisters and sweethearts along, but not always. They all knew how to sail cat-boats, and with them they could reach innumerable camping grounds, where the early inhabitants had been taught by the Indians how to bake clams. Going "a-fishing" was a simple affair, the outfit for which has been described as a peck of clams for bait, a box of matches, two pounds of pork, and three gallons of rum for supplies. With these essentials, the superfluities might be varied indefinitely. But it was always assumed that *some* fish would be caught.

As to going clamming, sometimes they went ashore from the cat-boats, and sometimes they drove down by land. Of course, a Rhode Island clam-bake must be conducted upon Rhode Island soil; but even so, there were bakes and bakes. Having participated in a large number of bakes, I can describe the first-class article. Too many people were not to be desired. It is assumed that a bushel of clams had been dug and carefully washed in salt water. There were numerous places on both sides of the bay where, it is safe to say, clams had been baked from an immemorial period. That is to say, they were baking grounds occupied by the Indians before the white man came. They consisted of hollows, about three to five feet in diameter, made in the sand and lined with stones. Upon these stones fires were built, and, when the stones were sufficiently heated, the embers were raked away and the clams poured down upon them. Usually potatoes and green corn were placed on top of the clams, but that was not necessary. The clams were covered with seaweed to the depth of a foot, and then allowed to cook. Frequent assays determined when they were done. Bread and condiments, including melted butter and vinegar, were provided. Of course, dishes and tea cups, coffee and tea, with cake and pies, even, sometimes were added, but they were wholly unnecessary. The essentials were clams, butter and vinegar. brown bread and butter. Each one wabbled his own clam in his own butter and vinegar, felt the sand grit between his teeth, and asked his neighbour, "Did you ever see such a bake?" They were all alike, when properly conducted.

The following monody written by my friend, E. J. Cushing, while not written in blank verse, contains all the elements essential to true poetry:

"Ancient Clam Bakes

"The good old days have gone, never to return, when we went to the shore, dug our clams, and stole the rails with which to cook them. It was said that John Brown Francis always kept a generous supply of rails at Spring Green on purpose to be stolen, so anxious was he to encourage this ancient Rhode Island custom and innocent method of obtaining a healthy appetite. And what are a few rails, compared with the good-will of your fellow citizens, and what more grateful incense than the curling smoke from that primitive bake, which is sustained by the very rails your own good heart has left promiscuously about to be purloined?

"In those good old times there was no contest between labor and capital, or the rich and poor, and they all lived together like so many lions and lambs, for the rich then yielded without arrogance what the poor obtained without humiliation. It is natural for those who have lived only a short time to think that the present is the highest state of human information and happiness; because they now eat clams cooked by steam and opened by nitro-glycerine, to pity the man who dug them himself and 'hooked' the rails to assist their digestion and develop their flavor. But all improvements are not progress.

"When the last rail was stolen, and there was not a post to be seen from Paddy Wilson's meeting house to Point Judith Light, we had sense enough to leave off going to clam bakes, not wishing to mingle the pleasant memories of the past with the painful realities of the present. We prefer to remember how John Whipple spoke in Court, to going up to the Court of Magistrates and hearing the young lawyers of this day. We prefer to remember the clam as he was when Roger Williams and Canonicus and the rest of those old bondholders went to Squatum on their blowouts, and as he was fifty years ago, before this age of steam, with its hollow refinements and its mildewed respectabilities. And how the clam has dwindled away under modern civilization and modern thought! We saw one the other day, and were shocked at his great change of appearance, altering him so much that his oldest creditor would not know him. In a few years nothing will be left of the clam but his snout, and his empty shell will look like some banquet hall deserted, or the last rose of summer, or anything else mournfully pathetic. We have entered upon evil times, when the clam is falling off in stature, and we must look back with regret to the old time when both men and clams were allowed to develop their natures according to the eternal fitness of things."

Usually, when the gentlemen took their lady friends with them, clam chowder was provided. They have various concoctions around New York which they call "chowders." Sometimes they call them Rhode Island chowders, but no one who ever saw a genuine Rhode Island chowder, or experienced its delicious fragrance, would ever suspect that they bore any relationship. My friend, Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, who was raised on the plains of Indiana, lives in Washington, on the banks of the Potomac, and knows almost everything about food, undertook, some time since, a discourse on Rhode Island chowder, and called it souse. Probably what he had mistaken for Rhode Island chowder was souse. When I read his terrible mistake I addressed the following note to the editor of the *New York Times*:

"For once, in a long career of rarely uniform success, my friend Wiley has blundered. It all comes from trying to discourse about a matter with which he betrays (for him) a monstrous lack of familiarity. The idea of insulting a chowder by calling it 'souse!' The idea of going to a New York chef to learn to make clam chowder!

"The first requisite of a Rhode Island chowder is to be on the shore of Narragansett Bay, provided with a round bottomed kettle, in which chowders have been made for at least two hundred years. This kettle should be presided over by a Rhode Island matron, whose ancestors made Rhode Island chowder for at least eight generations. (Talk about comparing a Waldorf *chef*, who doesn't know the difference between a clam and a quahaug, with her!) This matron should be provided with plenty of assistance, in the form of blooming young girls, aspir-

ing to learn how to make a Rhode Island chowder, and of young men, desirous, for various reasons, to please the girls. The quantity of the various materials would be determined by the experience of the matron, and would be varied by th number of prospective diners who thought 'chowder was souse.' The first requisite material is Rhode Island clams, which it is presumed the young men have just dug, and taken from the shell raw, carefully rinsing them from sand in the natural water of the clam. This water is finally poured from the sand and preserved. The second requisite is a piece of salt pork, white, hard, and sweet, fatted in an orchard where there were plenty of sweet apples, and on Rhode Island corn-meal. Then a few Rhode Island onions, and Rhode Island potatoes, both peeled and sliced thin. Lastly, a sufficient quantity of fresh spring water from a Rhode Island spring, with pepper and other seasoning, and some fresh, crisp, pilot bread.

"All these things being at hand, the pork is cut into thin, small pieces, and fried to a turn on the bottom of the kettle; the sliced onions are added, and fried to a delicious brown; water is then added, and then the potatoes, which are cooked until they are very soft. The clams and clam water are then added with the seasoning, and the whole brought to a boil. It is soon done, and is served upon broken pilot bread.

"Of course, tomatoes, olives, mint, or any such truck, can be added if anybody wants them; but those to the manor, or the manner, born, have no such vitiated taste."

Rouseville was once described by my uncle to me. It was the rendezvous of a Club of which my uncle was a member. He told me where they met. As I remember, it was in a grove near the shore of Old Warwick Cove, at about where the Buttonwoods now are. They went there to cook fish and clams, make bakes and chowders. Of course, as there were no ladies in the party, the men had to make their chowders as best they could; and they got along pretty well. The round bottomed kettle, steaming over the fire, is seen in the background of the sketch. By the way, my uncle made this sketch on the ground and etched it on copper.

They had roaring good times there. One time when they started from Providence by land, the only conveyance for their utensils was a lumber reach on which they strung their kettles through the bails. The party had to go afoot. One Captain Cady was of the party. He is represented in a sketch by a rotund gentleman standing in the foreground. On this particular occasion Cady took more than his share of the three gallons provided, and was too full to walk the ten miles home; they therefore put him in the middle of the reach in the midst of the kettles. All went well till they got to the middle of Pautuxet Bridge, four miles below Providence, when the reach broke in the middle and left Cady among the kettles. We'll leave him there!

SLATE ROCK

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FOX-POINT SHORE

This rambling discourse leads to one among many conclusions. At the period of my uncle's sketches I was a child who spent much time at the home of my grandparents in Providence, and also in the country in Cumberland. In the city house they used for illumination lamps and sperm oil. In the country house they used candles made on the premises, in snuffing which I often left the company in darkness. Later, these primitive articles were discarded for a mixture of spirits of turpentine and alcohol, the use of which was attended with some danger. Later still, coal oil was introduced. I well remember when my father brought home the first gallon of coal oil, and the lamp in which to burn it. It was called kerosene. Later it was made from petroleum. Along with this oil, in the city, gas was used. Later still, came electricity. It would neither explode, nor would it poison the atmosphere which we breathe.

Along with these marvelous changes in illumination, others equally marvelous have taken place in relation to almost every article in the use of which our daily lives are concerned. The Providence of today was undreamed of when my uncle drew his sketches, and yet the span of a lifetime has reached from candles to electricity.

"Yet I doubt not thro' the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

The Providence Prints

An Announcement and an Offer

NEVER before has the early aspect of an American city been set forth so charmingly and so fully as in the pictures of Old Providence by Edward Lewis Peckham; and, in a sense, these views are typical of a large number of our cities. When Edward Peckham made his sketches, Providence was a village, and but a step from the open country. To-day it is the second city of New England, one of the great manufacturing centres of the United States. So, throughout our land, there are splendid, opulent cities that—but yesterday, it seems—were quiet, homespun villages.

Few of these other cities have had an artist-chronicler as did Providence, to tell in line and color the story of their past. We consider, then, that *The Journal of American History* and its readers are most fortunate in securing for reproduction these drawings of Edward Peckham; and we believe that many lovers of art and lovers of the olden time will desire to secure a complete set of the Providence Prints.

There are ten other water-colors, in addition to those appearing in this issue of *The Journal of American History* and those which will appear in the two subsequent issues. These ten, which are of especial interest and charm, have been reproduced in an edition too limited to be printed in *The Journal.*

So long as this edition lasts we shall be glad to supply the complete set of thirty-nine Providence Prints, reproduced in the delicate colors of the original water-colors, and in sepia and black-and-white from the sepia, pen-and-ink, and pencil drawings. The cost of the set is Ten Dollars; but to subscribers to *The Journal of American History,* a special reduction will be made of Four Dollars—just the amount of a year's subscription to *The Journal*—leaving the price of the set of Providence Prints to *Journal* subscribers Six Dollars.

No collector of *Americana,* and no lover of American art should miss the opportunity to possess these exquisite pictures. The process of their reproduction was a very costly one, and it is practically out of the question that they will ever again be reproduced. As noted above, the edition of the complete set is limited, and those desiring to order are requested to do so as soon as possible.

THE EDITOR.

The Providence Pictures

Descriptive Notes on the Water-Colors, Written by the Artist, Edward Lewis Peckham, and by His Nephew, Stephen Farnum Peckham, Through Whom These Views of Providence Before 1850 Have Been Secured for Permanent Pictorial Record in The Journal of American History

COLOR REPRDUCTIONS IN THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, VOLUME VI, NUMBER 4

I

PROVIDENCE FROM TWO MILES DOWN THE BAY

SEEN from the East Bank of the River, one and a half, or two miles down, in 1843 or 1844. On the left is Dexter's Bleachery and the Stonington Railroad depot and wharf. Before the building of the Worcester Railroad, a steam ferry-boat ran from this wharf to India Point, to connect with the Boston Road. On the right are Fox Point, the wharf and hill, etc., and a few oyster boats floating down with the ebb tide.—*Edward Lewis Peckham.*

II

MARKET SQUARE

This was taken from the window of the Merchants' Bank, January, 1835. The Bridge, which since then has been widened at the south, was the great market place for wood, charcoal, etc. The first building on the left is the Hezekiah Sabin estate; next, the Davis estate; and the brick building on the corner belonged to the Washington Insurance Company. Across the Bridge, on the corner, is the old "Coffee House," and the building next beyond the granite block on North Main Street is the National House. South of the latter and directly opposite is the Manufacturers Hotel, where the stages used to stop. This place, once so famous, was torn down in 1850 (and the Whatcheer Building erected). On February 12th laborers commenced its demolition, and on the 15th, at three and three-quarters o'clock p. m., the noble horse chestnut tree which graced the yard

fell to the ground. The tree, which nearly hides the Hotel, stood on the Northeast corner of the Market House.—*Edward Lewis Peckham.*

The Merchants' Bank Building is the first building on Westminster Street, on the south side. The sketch was taken looking east, across the Bridge. On the right, looking east, through the street past the Market House, is seen the Franklin House, at the foot of College Street. The Bridge is now extended southward on a line with the south side of the street. The Market House is still standing, although no longer used as a market house, it being occupied by the Providence Board of Trade. The large building in the middle is still standing, on the corner of Market Square and North Main Street. The building between it and the Bridge was removed many years ago and replaced by a handsome structure. The First Baptist Meeting House, the steeple of which is seen over the buildings on Canal Street is still an ornament to the city. The buildings on the corner of Westminster Street and Market Square, containing four windows, are still standing. A new building has taken the place of the one next to it, but books have been sold at that stand through all the years that have intervened.—*Stephen Farnum Peckham.*

III

THE COVE

This was taken March 22, 1846, from the northeast room of the Washington Building, occupied by the *Journal* Office. On the right is Canal Street. Steeple Street enters it at the first brick building. On the left is the State's Prison. The line of the shore is now Gaspee Street. The hill above was called Jefferson Plains, and was used by military companies for parade. On the 17th of April, 1841, the different Suffrage Associations of the State had a grand turn-out, and, repairing to this hill, feasted on an ox roasted whole, and a "mammoth loaf of Brown Bread," baked by Cyrus Osborn.—*Edward Lewis Peckham.*

The Cove was originally an estuary above the harbor, into which the Moshasuck River entered at the northeast corner, and the Woonasquetucket River entered at the northwest corner. Originally, there were sandy beaches on the west and south sides. The water of the harbor flowed under the great bridge in and out of the Cove, as the tide arose and fell. On the east side the street was protected by a wharf, at which small vessels received and discharged cargoes. The same may be said of the south side, which is now the south side of Exchange Place. Small vessels were built on the shores of the Cove. It has all disappeared since the construction of the Worcester Railroad. The present Union Depot occupies a position nearly in the center of the sheet of water represented in the sketch.—*Stephen Farnum Peckham.*

THE HEAD OF THE HARBOR

The wharves of South Water Street are seen below the bridge. On the right are seen the wharves of West Water Street. Near the centre is seen a circular, white building, which is the old theatre, built on what is now Dorrance Street. Near the left, behind a jet of steam, is the Steam Cotton Mill, which is still standing. The sketch is reproduced from a drawing made in September, 1840.

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WINDSOR PLACE

IV

THE OBSERVATORY

This shows the Observatory and the building containing the billiard tables. The view from the upper story was very extensive, embracing nearly the whole city. Southerly, one could see Field's Point, "Pamham," Pawtucky, Warwick's Neck, and the Bay, enlivened by numerous vessels as far down as Portsmouth Grove. It was situated a little west of Thompson Street. In 1820 and after there was a bend or small cove in the river, near where Thurston Foundry now is, in which floated logs and timber for Parker's ship-yard, situated at the same place. At high tide the water flowed through a culvert under South Main Street, widening into a small pond; then, passing under "Shoe String" Bridge, on what is now Bridge Street, again widened; and, gradually narrowing, flowed in the rear of Mr. Aplin's and Richard Harding's houses as far up as Brook Street. This street derived its name from a brook which originated in the meadows north of Angell Street, and emptied itself into the river at Packer's ship-yard. When Benefit Street, which was bounded by Wickenden Street, was extended to India Street, the filling up of the hollow caused a permanent pond to be made, the culvert being too small to carry off the waters of the said brook. A part of this pond, called "Baker's Pond," is seen in the foreground,—a nice place for swimming, or sailing mimic boats, in summer, and for skating in winter. From "Shoe String Bridge" boys used to catch mummychaugs, with both white and yellow bellies. At very high tides, Bridge Street was impassable, and was seldom used as a highway.—*Edward Lewis Peckham.*

The Observatory was built for amusement and recreation. I was a very small child when I climbed to the highest level on the third or fourth story. It was soon removed to make way for the grading, and neither the building nor the land on which it stood remains to-day.—*Stephen Farnum Peckham.*

V

SLATE ROCK

This picture represents Slate Rock and Whatcheer Cove in 1834. This is famous as being the first landing of Roger Williams on Rhode Island. It was a grand place for bathing at high water, but now, 1872, is nearly concealed by washings from the hill above. Should this interesting rock ever be restored, its surface will be found covered with the engraved initials, and even whole names of former visitors, most of whom are passed away.—*Edward Lewis Peckham.*

This sketch, taken from a point on a level with the Rock, was a favorite subject with my uncle. It was taken as the scene appeared in 1834. The Rock at

that date was nearly surrounded by water at high tide and formed a very convenient landing place in the stretch of sandy beach on either side. It consisted of a mass of homogeneous, soft, slate rock, that formed a part of the bed-rock of the hill upon which the eastern part of Providence is built.

About 1845, my father took me from his father's house on Benefit Street for a walk to Slate Rock. We went east on Arnold Street, and soon left the houses behind us, as there were few houses beyond Thayer Street then. Governor Fenner's place was a group of buildings that consisted of his residence and the out-buildings of a large farm. To the east were meadows, and, beyond them, sloping to the river, was a large tract of unimproved land, used as a pasture. Reaching Slate Rock, my father showed me his own name and the names of his brothers, which had been cut in the Rock some years before.

From time to time, in the years preceding the Civil War, I took my young women friends in a row-boat down the harbor, around Fox Point and India Point, through the bridges up to Slate Rock, then up through Red Bridge to the Seekonk shore, where we disembarked and visited friends near Rumford. Returning on an ebb tide, we passed over nearly identically the path taken by Roger Williams.

My uncle's sketch represents in almost as minute detail as a photograph the scene as it existed before the Civil War. When I returned to Providence in 1880, the Rock had been blasted to pieces, portions containing the names had been distributed to the few survivors of those who had carved them, and the bluff had been graded over the site where the Rock once was. The site must have been a little north of the eastern entrance to the railroad tunnel that has been constructed under College Hill.

During the last years of my uncle's life, he showed me the beautiful sketch that he had made in colors and made me promise to never allow any one to paint it unless it was colored as in his sketch. I think he would be entirely satisfied with the reproduction here offered.—*Stephen Farnum Peckham.*

VI

FOX-POINT SHORE

This is a view of Fox-Point Shore in 1832, taken from near the foot of Thompson Street. It was a famous place for baptizing, the ceremony usually taking place on Sunday, a little before the morning service. The adjacent hill used to be crowded with people, and the water darkened with boats. On a calm Sabbath morning the gentlest splash of an oar could be heard; and at this distant day the favorite hymn of "Oh, how happy are they, who their Saviour obey," sung as the newly-made converts walked slowly to the land, is still sounding in my ears.—*Edward Lewis Peckham.*

Patrick Henry's Mother

A Lady of Virginia in the Eighteenth Century, Whose Virtues Still "Smell Sweet and Blossom in the Dust" & How Three Women, for Their Childhood's Memories, Brought Honor to Her Grave

BY

JEAN CABELL O'NEILL

A STRANGE Yuletide it seemed at Winton House, the home plantation of Colonel Samuel Meredith, in Virginia, that December of 1784. No rollicking laughter, no music of banjo, or crooning song came from the wide-spread "quarters," no delicious odors of cooking, no sound of hunters after wild turkeys, or delighted yelping of hounds on the trail of the cotton-tail. All was hushed peace. Under the porch, whose columns reached above the upper windows to the roof level, the wide door stood open, and within could be seen profusion of cedar and pine, with red berries of holly and white of the mistletoe, making the white walls cheerful with color and the air spicy. Great fires filled the rooms with warmth and the sun flooded through the wide-open windows. All was ready for the holiday season, for Advent was well advanced. But there was no sound of holiday mirth from the many guests gathered in the rooms and wide hall, for the chief spirit of the house, the loved and venerated "Grandma Henry," mother of Virginia's silver-tongued orator of the Revolution, Patrick Henry, best known and loved woman of her day in Virginia, lay ready for her grave.

The porch and paved way to the house had been freed of snow, but elsewhere for weeks a thick mantle of white had lain glistening over fields and roads to the foothills and up the slopes of the sentinel mountains that hem in the valley of this part of Amherst County and the village of New Glasgow. While there was no sound of laughter, neither was there sound of weeping, though there was just cause for tears, for the spiritual lamp of the house had flickered out with the rought blast of winter's chill. But so peaceful was the passing of this loved spirit, so brilliant the triumph of faith over physical fear, that a holy calm seemed to settle over the spirits of the loving survivors, and gloom seemed as much out of place within doors, as the brilliant sun, turning to diamonds every twig and bough of the ice-clad trees in the thicket where Mrs. Henry's grave had been made, seemed an appropriate setting for the last tribute to one whose life had been all white and gold.

Under the now jeweled trees, daily, for eleven summers, Sarah Henry had loved to retreat with writing tablet, or book, or knitting, and pass hours of quiet industry while sunbeams filtered through the light foliage of the locust and played on her silvery hair, and the wind shook the sweet blossoms over and about her feet. Here she had wished to lie when her last bed was chosen.

After the slaves had finished their work of fashioning the narrow cell a gentle snow had again fallen and covered all the rough scars in the soil, so all was white and untrodden when the slow procession started from the house. Long was the train, made up largely of the dependents of the house, the black friends born to the estate and part and parcel of all the joy and woe of the "family." The black walnut coffin which held the form of the loved lady had been cunningly fashioned by the plantation carpenter, the silk lining quilted by loving black hands, the tiny pillow filled from the choicest stock of the "goose-tender." "The very best for 'Miss' Jane Meredith's Ma," was the thought of all the loyal-hearted blacks, slaves only in name.

Of the three sons and four sons-in-law of Mrs. Sarah Henry, none were in the funeral train but the family of Colonel Meredith, with whom she lived, and her son, William, who, with his little daughter held close, listened to the words of promised light beyond the grave, and who, with his little daughter, was buried by the side of his loved mother before the snow had gone, both father and child dying for loneliness for Mrs. Henry. One other little child saw this Christmas funeral, Jane Henry Meredith, the second, who, being born to the patriotic family the day the Declaration of Independence was signed, was an especial pet.

The simple service ended, the snow-spangled earth was gently put above the beloved dead, and then, kneeling humbly at the side of the new grave, Colonel Meredith, "hero of Trenton and Princeton," with his own hands fashioned a brick arch the entire length of the grave, to keep it safe from storm. Willing hands passed the materials for the work to him, but to none would he entrust this labor of love. Night fell and stars were shining and the last bricks were placed by light from torches of pine. Finished at last was this work, which has remained intact for more than a century, and then Colonel Meredith stood at the foot of the grave, saying: "When I die, lay my body just here, so that for all time I may lie at the feet of the deeply venerated and beloved mother of my wife."

So wild was the winter of 1784 that saw Mrs. Henry's passing that her best beloved son, Patrick Henry, could not get from Richmond, where he was serving as first Governor under the new order of affairs, to be with her at the end. Richmond was about a hundred miles from New Glasgow, and in the best of seasons at that date it was a trip of much hardship and possible danger. So to the ever faithful son-in-law, Colonel Meredith, fell the task of writing Patrick Henry of his mother's last days. In substance, the communication was as follows:

MARY GARLAND CABELL
The great-granddaughter of Sarah Henry, whom she strongly resembled.
Born in 1803, she died in 1893, after having the old
Winton Graveyard re-surveyed.

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COLONEL EDWARD A. CABELL

"Her illness was constant for six or seven months of her life. Her complaint was an inveterate cough which caused great uneasiness in her breast. She wished for ease, but it never appeared to me that she was desirous that a single moment might be added to the hour appointed for her. But none who were acquainted with her life and conversation need wonder at her great resignation to whatever might be the Divine will. She has been in my family upwards of eleven years and from the beginning to end of that time it most evidently appears to me that it was one continued scene of piety and devotion, guided by such a great share of good sense as rendered her amiable and agreeable to all who were so happy as to be with her. Never did I know a Christian character equal to hers. Oh, that her example may be imitated by me and my family, to whom she was always a monitor and true guide, both as to spiritual and temporal happiness. Her removal to the land of spirits ought by no means to occasion grief to her near and dear connections, as they certainly must rest assured that she is not only received into the heavenly mansions, but very highly exalted there, having gained to the five talents committed to her care fully other five talents. What an honor it is to all those that claim their descent from such a person. May they all be enabled to follow her blessed example."

Mrs. Sarah Henry was a native of Hanover County, near Richmond, Virginia, and early married Colonel Syme, of the same County, who held a royal commission at the time of his death. She was one of the Winstons, and, as William Wirt, the historian, declares in his "Life of Patrick Henry," "She possessed in an eminent degree the mild and benevolent disposition, the undeviating probity, the correct understanding, and the easy elocution by which that ancient family has long been distinguished."

After the death of Colonel Syme, Sarah Winston Syme married Mr. John Henry, a native of Scotland and a friend of Colonel Syme. Her second marriage was long as well as happy, and she was the mother of nine children, Patrick being the second son. The oldest daughter, Jane, married Colonel Samuel Meredith, hero of many wars and long-time intimate friend of General Washington. After peace, for which he had striven, came to his country, Colonel Meredith served his country as first Treasurer of the United States at the request of General Washington, and he held that responsible position until 1801, when the longing for country life caused him to resign and return to Winton.

Sarah Henry has been termed the "Abigail Adams" of the South. With a splendid education for the times, the gift of eloquence, and a peculiarly facile pen, she stamped her impress on all who came within the sphere of her influence. Both her husbands were men of affairs, both officers of the King. Colonel Henry was the principal surveyor of the County, and for many years the presiding magistrate of the County Court, in the days when offices were considered a public trust, and were bestowed with peculiar caution. His brother, Patrick,

for whom the orator was named, was the minister of St. Paul's Parish, Hanover, the brothers Henry being zealous members of the Established Church and warmly attached to the reigning family.

The brother of Sarah Henry, William Winston, was Lieutenant of a Company of Militia during the last French and Indian War. Soon after Braddock's defeat, the men, being without tents, indifferently clothed, and suffering from the inclemency of the weather to such an extent as to be on the verge of mutiny, were clamorous to return to their families, and about to carry the threat into execution, when Winston jumped upon a stump and addressed them with such keenness of invective and declaimed with such forceful eloquence on liberty and love of country, that the general cry was "Let us march on! Lead us against the enemy!"—which he did with splendid results.

With liberty-loving brothers and sons, and royalist husbands, Mrs. Henry must have been of splendid poise to have found favor with both parties during the stirring pre-Revolutionary days in which most of her life was passed. Her letters are still preserved and they show a keen vision and knowledge of affairs and power of character-reading quite remarkable for that or, in fact, for any period.

With the qualities of her head her heart must have held equal sway, for the first time Patrick Henry appeared as an orator he gave evidence of a tenderness of feeling which must have been an heritage from his mother. It is probably remembered that in his first law case Patrick Henry was to plead against the clergy, and among those of the cloth attending on the occasion was the uncle for whom he was named. Patrick Henry, with Colonel Meredith—so the story goes—advanced to the door of his uncle's coach, and expressed regret at seeing him. "Why so?" inquired the uncle. "Because, Sir," said the younger Patrick, "You know I have never yet spoken in public, and I fear I shall be too much overawed by your presence to be able to do my duty to my clients. Besides, Sir, I shall be obliged to say some hard things of the clergy, and I am very unwilling to give pain to your feelings."

With the overworked phrase of emancipation, as applied to women, Mrs. Henry probably had no acquaintance, but it is possible that feminine influence was stronger in her day than now when feminine participation in the fight for equality is so freely announced, for there is probably no woman of modern times who exerted her influence by word of mouth and industrious pen, in season and out of season, with as splendid results as those that crowned the labors of this early American mother. In addition to the impulse derived from her teachings, as shown by the life of Patrick Henry, she won the love of all the gentlemen who became husbands of her girls. They all took splendid rank in the ranks of the Continental Army. Campbell, called the hero of King's Mountain, in North Carolina; Colonel Christian, who aided him brilliantly; Colonel Valentine Wood,

of Amelia County; as well as Colonel Meredith, were all sons-in-law and sons-in-love of Sarah Henry, and all venerated her and showed her a loyal affection, honorable to themselves and to her. Mrs. Henry seemed to have a peculiar faculty for influencing the masculine mind. Even the somewhat headstrong Patrick gave testimony to this when he spoke of his mother's custom of carrying him off in the foot of her double gig to the old Fork Church to hear Parson Sam Davies preach. As if the long sermon was not enough discipline for nature-loving, gay-hearted, little Pat, who would rather worship in Nature's temple with his head resting on a mossy bank and his eyes culling pictures from the clouds, than listen to the greatest bit of word-painting within four walls, the little lad was expected by his mother to memorize the text and give a recapitulation of the sermon on the home journey. How much this memory treatment influenced his vocabulary and his powers of observation in later life, who can say?

It was not only those of her own household that Mrs. Henry could influence to the right, if one can believe the comments of that combination of Colonial Beau Brummel and Pepys, "Colonel William Byrd, whose daily sketches of his "Progress to the Mines" include an account of a visit to the "widow Syme" and a statement that she made him accompany her to church. Colonel Meredith and Colonel Byrd had served in the wars together and it is probable that friendship for William Winston was the "open sesame" to Mrs. Syme's acquaintance. To quote Colonel Byrd's own story of his impression of her who was destined to be the mother of many of the most noteworthy families of the South: "This lady at first suspected I was some lover, and put on a gravity which becomes a weed, but as soon as she learned who I was, she brightened up into an unusual cheerfulness and serenity. She was a portly and handsome dame. * * * The widow is a person of lively cheerful disposition, with less reserve than most of her country women." [He probably had the Scotch in mind, as Mrs. Syme was nearly related to the Scotch historian, Robertson.] "The courteous widow invited me to attend church and rest myself there that good day. I moistened my clay with a quart of milk and tea, which I found altogether as good a helper to discourse as the juice of the grape."

William Wirt, in commenting on the visit of Colonel Byrd to the Widow Syme, said: "As Colonel Byrd was not only a most accomplisher scholar, but one of the wittiest men in the colonies, it is not to be wondered at if her gravity was disturbed by his polished humour." William Wirt never met Mrs. Henry or her brilliant son, but he did know, and often correspond with Colonel Samuel Meredith. Furthermore, Wirt has this to say of Mrs. Henry: "She is described as a woman of remarkable intellectual gifts, an unusual command of language, and as happily uniting firmness with gentleness in the management of her family, before which she set an example of fervent piety."

Mrs. Henry lived and worked for the cause of liberty until the glad day

when news reached Winton that the Treaty of Versailles had been signed and that American independence was an accomplished fact. From that time her soul seemed to say *"Nunc dimittis."*

When Meredith expressed the hope in his letter to Governor Henry that the descendants of this illustrious woman would follow her good example, his was almost an inspired wish, for from her spring the families claiming such names as Cabell, Meredith, Carrington, Christian, Campbell, Breckenridge, Garland, Henry, and Southall. Of the latter, Doctor James Southall held an honorary degree from Oxford, Stephen Southall was Professor of Law at the University of Virginia at the time of his death, Garland was Chancellor of Vanderbilt University. Almost all the men have been of the learned professions, many of them taking active part in political life, as well. In no sense have the women of the line been inferior in mental attainment to their brothers and husbands. Most of them have been of literary bent, and two of them are at the present time at the head of colleges.

Nearly fourscore years ago a little maid, with flower-filled arms and eager steps, would daily make the short journey from the old Meredith rose-garden to the graveyard where her two baby brothers slept in their tiny graves. This place seemed to her but another garden, only the songs of the birds seemed freer here and the sunlight softer. The locust trees made a bower and the white lilacs bloomed later than elsewhere on the plantation. The wild roses did not wilt till almost sunset, and the first butterflies appeared here, for the early jasmine and the coral-honeysuckle tempted the earliest and most brilliant of the humming birds.

Here often the little maid would bring her "Grandma," and together they would sit by the central grave of the group of mounds, one with no stone, but a brick arch, over which ivy was always green, and "Grandma" would tell the little maid of the winter's day, fifty years before, when she, little Jane Meredith, saw her dear Grandma Henry placed there.

Many were the tales the old lady told the child in that peaceful God's Acre, stories in which Sarah Henry figured as always saying and doing the right thing; tales of her own mother and splendid father, Colonel Meredith; how they had cared for the blacks and been helpful to the Indians; of the little girl, her sister-cousin, who died for grief at her grandmother's death and was buried at one side of Mrs. Henry's grave, and of the tiny Cabell girl who had a six-foot tomb of purest marble, while Mrs. Henry's grave was unmarked. The little girl's own brothers of the same name had ornate head and foot stones, though the age on one stone showed his life "as sparkling and transient as morning dew which was exhaled and sent to heaven," after *one month* in this world. She told of Colonel Meredith's grave, at the foot of Sarah Henry's, and why it was placed exactly there; of the fact that his head-stone marked the foot of Mrs. Henry's grave.

JANE HENRY MEREDITH CABELL VAN ZANDT

Born at Winton House in 1830, at the age of eighty she pointed out the grave of Patrick Henry's mother for its permanent marking. She was the great-granddaughter of Jane, the eldest sister of Patrick Henry.

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CAPTAIN NICHOLAS HENRY MEREDITH VAN ZANDT, U. S. N.
Great-grandson of Lucy Henry, sister of Patrick Henry. The Sword was borne by him in the Mexican War.

When asked, "Why don't we put a stone to Grandma Henry's grave," the answer was, "My Dear, the family always thought the mother of Virginia's great son, Patrick Henry, should be honored by a monument erected by the State and we are still hoping for this."

When this lady came to make her own will, she being the wife of "King" David S. Garland, and a power in the community, had much to will away. She expressly left directions as to the erection of stones over her husband's grave and her own, and of several of the family who had recently died, and for a trust fund for the up-keep of the fence and the care of the ground for all time, but she made no mention of a stone for Mrs. Henry's grave, showing her consistent in her expectation that the State would perform this task of veneration.

Time with its myriad changes swept over the head of the little maid. She traveled far, and ran the gamut of womanly experiences, of maidenhood, wifehood, motherhood, orphanhood—until, over three-score and ten, she stood almost the last of her house. Each change seemed to bear her farther from the little white and green place of peace, the old Winton graveyard, until she found herself three thousand miles away. Then came the news from America that some of the Societies, who are doing such fine work in bringing tardy honor to the graves of the pioneers in the cause of Freedom, had declared that none could find the grave of the mother of the "Tongue of the Revolution," that there was no such place to be found anywhere, it must have been obliterated, etc.

With the fire and energy of her forebears, the exile came back to her land and, invoking the aid of the Press, she printed a story of Mrs. Henry for a Mother's Day text in the *Herald* of the capital city, giving the exact location of the grave and the correct name of the place, for, by a slip of the pen in William Wirt Henry's "Life" of his grandfather, "Winton" was printed "Winston," and that having been Mrs. Henry's maiden name it was taken as correct. The name of the old village had been transferred to a water tank on the railroad, three miles from Winton, and the name of Clifford bestowed instead on the old Scotch settlement of New Glasgow. The story of her great-grandfather's devotion to the memory of his wife's mother had so impressed her that she repeated it in the *Herald* story.

Then she went to see for herself how things were at the old home she had not seen for fifty-five years. She found the story had preceded her, and a new fence had been put up and the same old lilacs and locust she had loved, or offshoots therefrom, had been cared for. Colonel Meredith's head-stone still stood guard at the foot of Mrs. Henry's grave, and the little white stones over the baby brothers still did duty through storm and pleasant days. From the grave of her own baby, little Henry Meredith, at rest fifty years, she carried lily roots all the way to Amherst, and with the help of the little people of the village she planted them on Sarah Henry's grave as a fitting type of the Resurrection, the pure and fragrant flowers springing from the buried root.

The story of the rescued grave spread through the papers of the South, and, within a year from the time the little children of the village were helping plant the lilies, they were proudly heading a procession of workmen bearing a substantial stone to mark the historic grave. The descendants of Mrs. Henry have, as the direct result of the power of the Press, seen to it that a lasting tribute shall stand at Mrs. Henry's grave.

There was another little child who loved to go to the old graveyard long before the "little maid" was thought of. She was a generation nearer to Sarah Henry, and the mother of the babies whose graves were daily decked by the little maid. She also passed, from necessity, many years away from the loved Winton house where all her children had been born, and, in her ninetieth year, hearing that the fence was down, she went two hundred miles by rail and ten by coach, taking a surveyor with her, had the lines run round the graveyard where her memory and records showed her they should be, saw the new fence put in place and painted, and then, quite satisfied that all was safe and well, returned home, and at the end of the long journey, with a satisfied smile, laid down to quiet sleep that knew no wakening in this world.

So the devotion of a son-in-law to the mother of his wife and the leading of a little child have saved from obliteration the last resting-place of one of the most distinguished of American women.

WINTON HOUSE, THE HOME FOR ELEVEN YEARS OF PATRICK HENRY'S MOTHER

The old graveyard where Sarah Henry was buried is in the background Winton House was built by Joseph Cabell, who was associated with Thomas Jefferson in the Founding of the University of Virginia.

A BIT OF THE OLD CABELL PLANTATION

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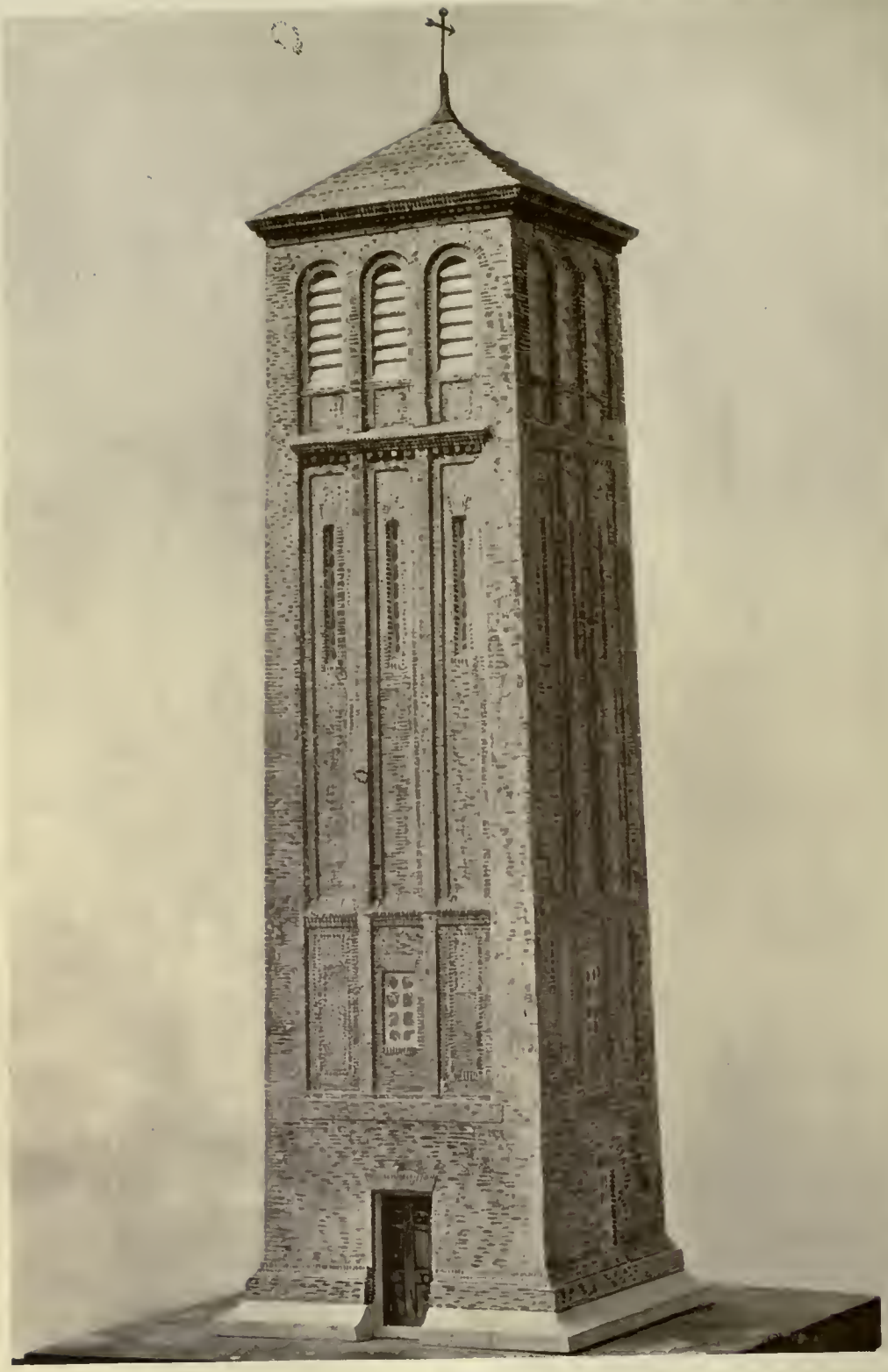


HINGHAM TOWER ·

The erection of this bell-tower, whose architect is Mr. William Roger Greeley, is to commemorate the two hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary of the town of Hingham, Massachusetts. In honor of the occasion, the town of Hingham, County Norfolk, England, whence many of the Colonists came to New Hingham, presented a large block of flint, probably used as a mounting-stone, and which, for hundreds of years, has stood in the market place of Old Hingham. His Excellency, James Bryce, Ambassador from Great Britain to the United States, presented the ancient stone, on behalf of the English town.

A Sketch of the Principal Events of The War of 1812

BY

CARLOS PARSONS DARLING, B. L.

Charter Member of the Tioga County, Pennsylvania, Historical Society, Compiler of "The History and Genealogy of the Darling Family in America."

THE American Congress on the Eighth of June, 1812, declared war against Great Britain, by a vote of seventy-nine to forty-nine in the House of Representatives, and nineteen to thirteen in the Senate; in return for which the British Parliament decided unanimously to support the Prince Regent in the prosecution of the war declared against them by the United States of America. The following are some of the reasons for the measure. The extension of the American commerce, during the wars in Europe, excited the jealousy of Great Britain. It was to be expected that the vast power of England on the ocean would be employed to check the growing spirit of American commercial enterprise. It was unlikely, too, that the people of America would tamely submit to restraints.

The European wars threw the carrying trade into the hands of the American shippers. To distress her enemy, Britain proclaimed a blockade of the principal ports under the influence of France. Large as their naval power was, it could not enforce this paper blockade; but a pretext was afforded for the seizure of American produce, and immense spoilations by British cruisers were the consequence. American seamen were impressed, and compelled to serve in the English Navy, for an unlimited term.

It was believed that British traders from Canada fomented a spirit of savage warfare among the Indians on the frontiers of the United States. On the other hand, the British government charged that of the United States with subserviency to the politics of France. To obtain indemnity for British spoilations, and to cut off all opportunity of exciting the hostility of the Indians was the avowed object of the American government.

William Hull, Governor of Michigan Territory, who had been an officer in the Revolutionary War, took command of two thousands regulars, and one thousand, five hundred volunteers, and encamped on the Fifth of July, 1812, at

Spring Wells, opposite Sandwich. He made a descent on Canada in five days after his arrival on the frontiers. To the surprise of all, he soon retreated across the river, and posted himself at Detroit. He was pursued by the British under General Brock, who summoned and obtained possession of the fortress, without resistance. Thus all the military stores, and the Michigan Territory fell into the hands of the British.

Astonishment at the unexpected event pervaded all ranks of the American people. But triumph soon followed the disaster. The British frigate, *Guerriere,* was taken by Captain Isaac Hull, commander of the American frigate, *Constitution,* in thirty minutes. The *Guerriere* was so completely reduced to a wreck by the fire of the *Constitution* that she could not be carried into port, and was burned the next day. This was the commencement of a glorious career of American victories on the ocean.

The *Alert,* the *Swallow,* the *Frolic,* and the *Macedonian* were captured by the American Navy the same season. The *Wasp* and the *Frolic* were taken by the British frigate, *Poictiers.* Beside the public vessels, a swarm of American privateers covered the ocean, and crippled the commerce of Britain by the capture of numerous and valuable prizes.

The war on land was prosecuted with various success; but the conquest of Canada utterly failed. A great part of the Indians were the allies of Britain.

Near the close of the year 1812, the British frigate, *Java,* was captured and burned by Commodore Bainbridge on the *Constitution.*

It was thought by both the belligerents that the fate of Canada was suspended on the issue of naval engagements on the lakes. The British had made great preparations on Lake Erie. Their fleet, under Captain Barclay, consisted of six vessels, mounting sixty-three guns. The American fleet, under Captain Perry, consisted of nine vessels, mounting fifty-four guns.

On the Tenth of September, 1813, the two fleets met at the mouth of Put-in Bay. At eleven A. M. the lines were formed, and the battle began. After three hours of close fighting, the whole of the British fleet was captured. The British loss was two hundred killed and wounded, and six hundred taken prisoners; that of the Americans, twenty-seven killed, and ninety-six wounded. The army under General Harrison, and the volunteers under Governor Shelby, passed the Lake and attacked the British troops commanded by General Proctor, and the Indians, under the noted Tecumseh, on the River Thames. The Americans gained a signal victory, killing great numbers, and taking six hundred prisoners, and the General's carriage and all his papers.

Elated by these successes, the Americans expected that Canada would soon be conquered. The command of the army had been resigned by General Dearborn and given to General Wilkinson. General Hampton commanded a separate detachment. General Wilkinson's force amounted to eight thousand, and a rein-

forcement was daily expected. It was resolved to attack Montreal, leaving several forts unreduced.

The British had strengthened their fortifications, concentrated their forces, and taken the best measures of defense. When they found the grand attack was to be made on Montreal, and the American army was descending the St. Lawrence River, they dispatched their best troops to harrass the invaders in the rear. The season was far advanced, and, a misunderstanding happening between the commanding officers, General Wilkinson was compelled to go into winter quarters without effecting the intended object.

The loss of the Americans, in several engagements, was considerable. In the battle of Christler's Field General Covington and a hundred and two men were killed, and two hundred and thirty-seven wounded. By these events Sir George Prevost, the commander-in-chief of the British troops, saw himself, for another winter at least, in quiet possession of the Province.

The success of the British and Continental arms in prostrating France, and the consequent peace in Europe, left almost the whole naval force of Britain at liberty to be employed in the war against America, and those who had served in Spain, disengaged from European wars, might now be employed to fight against the enemy in the New World. Great Britain rose in her demands and, it is thought, even meditated the dissolution of the Union, and the annexation of, at least, a part of her former American possessions. Negotiations had been opened, but they proved ineffectual.

These considerations were sufficient to have spread a gloom over the American public, but, like the Romans, they seem to have increased their energies in proportion as the dangers which threatened them increased. New levies were raised, loans were negotiated, and large appropriations were made to increase the navy.

The British resolved to harrass the coasts, and their powerful fleets, early in the spring, were in the American seas. Hampton, Virginia; Havre de Grace, Maryland, and other villages, were plundered, burnt, and laid waste. The bold resolution was taken to seize the city of Washington, the capital of the Commonwealth. This enterprise was committed to General Ross.

On the Nineteenth of August, 1814, the troops destined for this undertaking arrived at Benedict, and the next day their debarkation was completed. The detachment consisted of about six thousand troops. The American forces under General Winder, destined for the defence of Washington, amounted to no more than three thousand, of whom one thousand, five hundred were raw militia, when General Ross was within twenty miles of the capital.

On the Twenty-fourth the Americans were attacked at Bladensburg, and, after a considerable resistance, totally routed. The officers of the Government immediately fled, and the British army entered the city without opposition. The

Capitol, the President's house, and several offices, with all their papers, valuable libraries, the noble bridge over the Potomac and several private houses, with a wantonness that no excuse can palliate, were burned.

After remaining a few days in the city, the British army retired to the fleet, and would have retired with honour, had they been contented with burning the Navy Yard, defeating the American Army, and entering in triumph the capital. But burning of property in no respect military tarnished all their laurels.

Their next object was an attack on Baltimore. This was less successful, or rather, totally failed. Fort McHenry repulsed the British Navy with great firmness. In the Battle of North Point the Americans were victorious. The loss of the invaders was double that of the Americans, and General Ross was among the killed. The fleet was withdrawn, and the reduction of Baltimore abandoned in despair.

The disaster which the invading army met at the capital of Maryland disconcerted what seems to have been a very extensive plan of operation. Had Baltimore fallen, the next object doubtless would have been Philadelphia, and then New York. Next, the British progress would have been up the Hudson River, and the cutting off the Northern States from the Union. Though this object was never plainly announced, yet it so much resembles the plan of operations in the Revolutionary War, and seems to account so well for the simultaneous movements of the British forces on the north and south, that no one can doubt that it actually had been formed.

Sir George Prevost had been reinforced on the north by a part of Wellington's Army from the Garonne. A part of the reinforcement had been sent up to the Niagara River, while the remainder, to the amount of fourteen thousand men, were organized under Sir George for the invasion of New York.

General McComb was stationed in feeble fortifications opposite Plattsburgh, on Lake Champlain. On this lake the British force had been increased and placed under the command of Captain Downie. It consisted of four vessels and twelve galleys. The American armament, commanded by Commodore McDonough, consisted of four vessels and ten galleys. The number of guns in the British fleet was ninety-five, those of the Republic numbering eighty-six. The former were manned by one thousand men, the latter by eight hundred. Captain Downie was ordered to attack the fleet, while Sir George was to lead his forces against the fortifications on land.

On the Eleventh of September the British fleet bore down upon the enemy. When they hove in sight, Commodore McDonough collected his officers and men around him, kneeled down, and implored in prayer the assistance of Almighty God.

At nine A. M. the lines were formed at three hundred yards distance from

each other, and the engagement commenced. At the same time the battle between the land forces began. After two hours' fighting on the Lake, the victory seemed to incline towards the British Lion. But the execution of a most difficult manoeuvre decided the conflict, and victory perched on the American banners. After two hours and twenty minutes' fierce combat the contest closed by the sinking of three British galleys, and the surrender of all the remainder of the fleet, except nine galleys which made their escape. The American loss was fifty-two killed, and fifty-eight wounded, while that of the British, besides their fleet, was fifty-eight killed, one hundred and ten wounded, and eight hundred and fifty-six taken prisoner. The number of prisoners actually exceeded the whole number of their captors. Sir George Prevost kept up a fire on the American lines until evening and then fell back under cover of the night. The Americans had command of the Lake, and the militia pouring in from every quarter, further operations by land would have been hopeless.

Great Britain now resolved to concentrate her land and naval forces for a grand attack on New Orleans. The Americans were soon apprised of this intention and made preparations to repel the formidable invasion that threatened them. The command was given to General Andrew Jackson, who had distinguished himself in former campaigns against the Southern Indians.

He received certain intelligence on the Fifth of December, 1814, that a fleet of sixty sail was off the coast of the Mississippi. All was activity in New Orleans to prepare for a vigorous defence. The American flotilla on Lake Ponchartrain was destroyed by the invaders. The army destined for operations on land was debarked under the command of Sir Edward Pakenham. The British force amounted to sixteen thousand troops, the most of them veterans from Spain; that of the Americans, raw and undisciplined, to six thousand, but their General was a host.

After several preliminary skirmishes, on the Eighth of January, 1815, Sir Edward made his grand attack. The American lines extended one thousand yards, and in front of the breastworks there were five feet of water in the ditch. The British advanced over an even plain, in solid columns, upon the American entrenchments. When in reach of the batteries, a most destructive cannonade commenced, and soon they were within the range of the riflemen and musketeers. The carnage was dreadful. Every shot from the American batteries seemed to take effect. The advancing columns were mowed down as the scythe of the mower levels the grass. The troops passed over the dead bodies of their companions to certain destruction. The assailants were thrown into confusion; no effort could rally them. No less than two thousand, besides the wounded, fell in a short space of time. Sir Edward Pakenham was among the slain. The American loss was seven killed and six wounded. It was the hand of the Almighty! The shattered forces were embarked as speedily as possible.

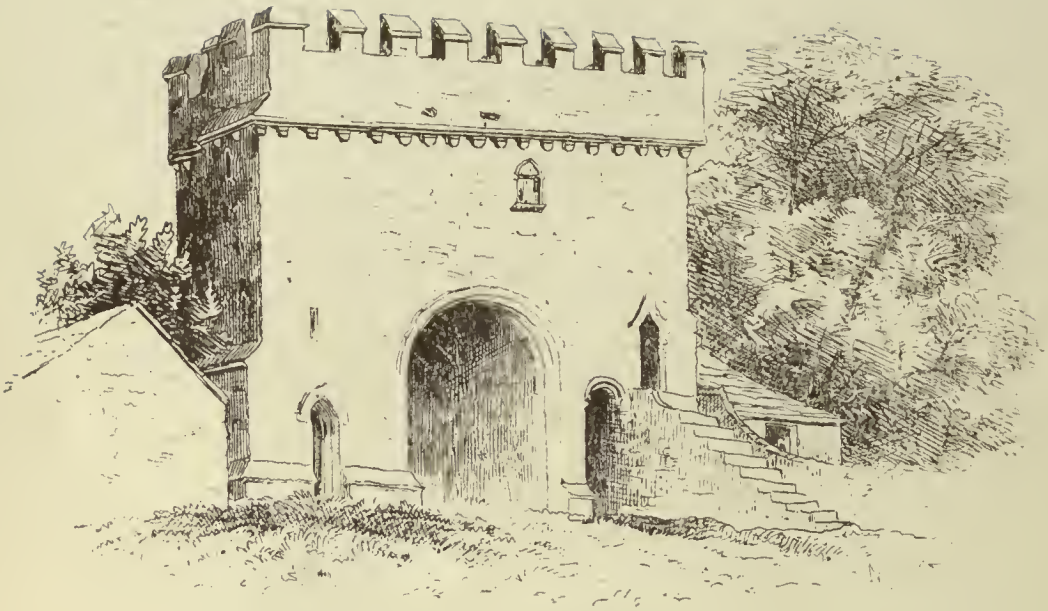
Before this great battle was fought Articles of Pacification had actually been signed at Ghent, the Twenty-fourth of December, 1814. By this treaty the two nations were placed nearly in the same relations as before the commencement of the war.

The War of the Revolution was planned for a wise purpose, and was directed by a Higher Power, but the War of 1812, considered by the light of the present-day wisdom, was an unnecessary and wanton exhibition of folly. England, once defeated and driven from the country, was only anxious to try again to redeem her lost honor, and America, goaded on by the impulsive ambition of the politicians like Calhoun, Clay, and others, were striving to turn the popular prejudice against Great Britain to their own political advantage. We gained the humiliation of asking terms, and seeking a cessation of hostilities. We lost thirty thousand lives, and hundreds of millions of dollars. We lost our national capitol and years of prosperous commerce. Public morals were outraged by all the evils which follow in the train of war.

There has ever remained a question as to the wisdom and justification of this war, which brought no benefit at all commensurate with the losses we sustained in blood, treasure, and prestige. The country at large was caused to suffer, but the ambitious politicians were benefited. It was one of the first object lessons given of the ambitious plotting for power and place that has grown up with our country and is today a ruling passion.

COAT-ARMOR OF THE HUNGATE FAMILY OF YORKSHIRE, IN ENGLAND, AND OF THE UNITED STATES

123.



GATEWAY OF STEETON HALL.
On this archway the Hungate Coat-of-Arms is cut in the stone

The Hungate Family

BY

JOHN H. HUNGATE

ARMS: *Gules, a chevron engrailed, between three hounds séjant, argent.*

CREST: *A hound séjant, argent.*

The Hungate family originated in the City of York (Drake's *Erboracum*). It is one of the ancient families of the West Riding, Yorkshire, and the name frequently occurs in early church and land records of the City of York, Leeds, Saxton, and Sherburn.

There is in the City of York a short and narrow street, extending from St. Saviour's Gate down to the River Foss, called "Hungate," anciently, "Hundgate," doubtless so-called by the Danes who, in Alfred's time, conquered Northumberland, and made York the capital. It is probable that the family name arose from this street. Drake, in *Antiquities of York,* states that William Hungate, Esq., of Bornby, the first of the line, as given in the Herald's Visitation of Yorkshire, was the father of William Hungate, Esq., who married Margery, daughter of Sir Anthony Oughtread, Knight. His Coat-of-Arms, with thirty others, is cut on the stone archway leading to Steeton Hall, now in ruins. The chapel is dilapidated, but a part of it is occupied as a residence. The archway, however, is intact, and its Coats-of-Arms have for ages preserved the record of ancient family tenure and alliances. The descendants of those families whose shields are carved in the rock, now look upon this structure of a by-gone age with feelings of reverence and family pride. The hall, chapel, and archway are deserving of a visit of the archaeologist and others who are interested in ancient ruins.

William Hungate, Esq., grandson of William Hungate of Bornby, became Lord of the Manor of Saxton, and to him every Hungate now living can trace descent, and, as we shall see, without a break in the chain.

Leland states that the Battle of Towton was fought near his estate,

"When Old England's noblest blood was poured out in a flood
To quench the fiery fued of Lancaster and York,"

and that after the bloody fray William Hungate (a Lancastrian), gathered together a great many of the bodies of the slain, and had them buried in the grave-yard of Saxton Church.

It was this William Hungate who repaired the church edifice, which was

originally built in 1292 by Roger de Saxton, and so improved St. Mary's Chantry that it is to this day called "The Hungate Quire," and here he lies buried close to the Altar. By his will, dated April 16, 1578, Thomas Hungate orders his body to be buried in the Hungate Quire of Saxton Church, and nearby are also to be seen the tombs of Sir Philip Hungate, Baronet, and Sir Charles Hungate, Baronet, with the well-defined Coat-of-Arms engraved thereon. This church and grave-yard continued to be the family burying-place up to the time of the Reformation, and later, until, under James I, the Hungate estates were confiscated as those of "Papish Recusants," and Dalton became their place of burial, and so remained until the estates were restored under Charles I.

William Hungate lived to see Henry VII victorious over Richard III, and died about the time of the accession of Henry VIII. He was succeeded by his son, William Hungate, Esq., who, in turn, was succeeded by his son, William.

The last named William Hungate resided at the Court of Henry VIII, from whom he obtained the Manor of Sherburn. He was a staunch Catholic, and when Henry VIII died he retired to his estates. When Queen Mary came to the throne, she recalled him to Court, and made him one of the Privy Council. He was in office when Cranmer was burned at the stake. Upon the death of Queen Mary and the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, he again retired to his estates, which at that time were extensive. Being a Catholic, he was a great sufferer under Elizabeth and also under James I. He regarded Elizabeth as a heretic, usurper, and tyrant, and when Mary Queen of Scots landed in England he and his friend, Sir William Vavasour, were the first to call upon her, though it is probable that he took no active part in the Northern uprising. He was succeeded by his son, William Hungate.

Like his father, this William Hungate was an uncompromising Catholic. The feeble and cupidious James I and the vengeful Protestant faction, affecting to believe that all Catholics were traitors, sought to despoil and thus deprive them of the power to do evil, as a result of which the Hungate estates—at that time considerable—were confiscated as those of a Recusant. The life of William Hungate was rendered miserable, and his assassination by Philip Constable was regarded as a political murder. He has become more famous as being the father of Robert Hungate, his second son, than as being Lord of the Manors of Sherburn and Saxton.

Unlike his father, Robert Hungate was a Protestant. He was a counsellor-at-law of "Lincoln's Inn," and, by his will, dated May 11, 1619, founded and endowed the hospital and grammar-school at Sherburn, the school to be for the education of twenty-four legitimate infants and orphans. The orphans of the towns of Sherburn and Saxton were to be preferred, and after them, the orphans of Sand Hutton, and then of York. His elder brother, William Hungate, Esq., was made executor of the will and patron of the charity, of which the Archbishop of York is now the patron.

A few years ago, one of our family traveled through England, and stopped for a day at Saxton and Sherburn, visiting the school and receiving from the master a detailed statement of its operation and achievements. Old Saxton Church was also visited, and a great many of the tombs of the ancient family. A visit was paid also to St. Cuthbert's Church in the City of York, where Robert Hungate is buried, and where is embedded in the floor a brass tablet three feet square, upon which are engraved his name, Coat-of-Arms, and a detailed statement as to his charities. His younger brother, Edmund Hungate, counsellor-at-law, is also buried here. He married Jane, daughter of Richard Bell, counsellor-at-law.

William Hungate, the father of Robert Hungate, the philanthropist, was succeeded by William Hungate, his eldest son, who married Margaret, daughter of Roger Sothaby, Esq., of Pockington. In turn, he was succeeded by his son, William Hungate, who married Eliza, daughter of William Middleton, Esq., of Stockeld, and who died without issue in December, 1634.

Sir Philip Hungate, Baronet, succeeded his brother William.

Wheater, in his *History of Sherburn and Cawood,* states that the Hungates were restored to their estates, probably under Charles I. Certain it is that Sir Philip Hungate was created a Baronet by Charles I.

Sir Philip was a Catholic and a Royalist, and supported the King in his contest with Parliament, but, being feeble, his active duties in the Civil War devolved upon his son, Francis Hungate, Colonel of Horse, who fought under Prince Rupert, and who lost his life at the Battle of Chester in 1645. He left surviving him his sons, Francis and William, and a daughter, Mary.

Francis, upon the death of Sir Philip Hungate, his grandfather, succeeded to the Baronetcy of Sherburn. He married Margaret, daughter of Charles, Lord Carrington, of Wooton, County Warwick, and had issue, Sir Philip, Francis, M. D., Roger, Margaret, and Eliza.

After Charles II came to the throne, Sir Francis was taken into the royal favor, and was called to Court. In 1663, Leeds was the *rendezvous* of conspirators whose object was to dethrone the "Merry Monarch," and the King ordered Sir Francis Hungate to be furnished with three horses (horsemen) as an escort, probably to visit the disaffected district and report as to the threatened uprising. It is likely that he died about the time of the death of the King, and he was succeeded in the Baronetcy by his son, Sir Philip Hungate, who married Eliza, daughter of William, Lord Mounson, and had issue, Sir Francis, Sir Philip, and Sir Charles Carrington Hungate, who, each in turn, succeeded to the Baronetcy, none leaving issue.

Sir Charles Carrington Hungate was a Captain, and served under the great Marlborough in the war on the Continent, which humbled the proud Louis XIV. He died at Huddleston Hall, November 6, 1749, and was interred in Saxton Church. He was the last of the name to occupy the ancestral estates.

Mary Hungate, daughter of Sir Francis Hungate (who died, as noted above, at the Battle of Chester in 1645), took possession of the estates and carried them to her husband, Sir Edward Gascoigne, whose descendants by adoption now occupy them. Their right to the Baronetcy of Sherburn and the lands was called in question in 1831 by William Anning Hungate, Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, who, at the first trial before the jury, obtained a verdict. The case was reversed, however, on appeal by the Court, on the ground that he did not satisfactorily prove his descent. We have his pedigree which was in evidence at the trial, and now, also having a complete pedigree of the family as given in Wheater's history, and, in addition, a complete pedigree of the American branch of the family, we are prepared to prove that the American Hungates have lineally descended from William Hungate, Esq., of Saxton. So also, was William Anning Hungate, but the American branch of the family takes precedence.

The undoubted facts are as follows:

Charles Hungate, fifth and youngest son of Sir Francis Hungate, and his wife, Margaret, daughter of Charles, Lord Carrington, was born July 10, 1669, at Huddleston Hall (*History of Sherburn and Cawood, page 147*). He came to America when a young man, and, after the vicissitudes of pioneer life, obtained, in 1747, a patent to a small tract of land on the headwaters of the Roanoke River, about ten miles from where Blacksburg now stands. (See Land Records, Richmond, Virginia).

When he left England he was in the line of succession, but his older brothers and their issue stood between him and the inheritance. He therefore put aside all thoughts of preferment, and resolved to try his fortune in the New World.

He was among the first settlers in that part of Southwest Virginia. His neighbors were nearly all Scotch-Irish who had come down through Pennsylvania, among them, the Madisons, Pattons, Christians, Drapers, Harmons, and members of the celebrated Lewis families. At that time there were no roads over the Blue Mountains, and the settlers became isolated, in a measure, from the outside world, and were constantly exposed to raids of savage Indians.

He died intestate, leaving his widow, Anne, and two sons, Charles and William. Letters of administration were granted to his widow, May 17, 1749 (see Minutes of the Court of Augusta County, Virginia, Book I, page 149, Staunton, Virginia), only a few months prior to the death of his nephew, Sir Charles Carrington Hungate, Baronet. Had he survived Sir Charles, he would have inherited the Baronetcy by the laws of primogeniture.

His son, Charles, was next in the line of succession. He also acquired a patent to lands in the same locality in Virginia, on December 15, 1749, some months after his father's death. (See Land Office, Richmond, Virginia.) He never married, and died leaving his brother, William Hungate, as his sole heir.

William Hungate occupied the lands of his father and brother up to the time

THE CHURCH AT SHERBURN, YORKSHIRE, ENGLAND
Sherburn Manor was granted by King Henry VIII to William Hungate, Privy Councillor under Queen Mary

THE FIRST HOME IN AMERICA OF CHARLES HUNGATE, FOUNDER OF THE AMERICAN BRANCH OF THE FAMILY

Of the original structure of this typical cabin, built in 1746 on the head waters of Roanoke River, Augusta County, Virginia, only fragments are now visible

of his death, which occurred about 1755. He left a widow and three sons, William, Charles, and John, then of tender age.

When Charles Hungate, the Colonist of Virginia, died, he was not aware of the fact that he had survived all of his near relatives except his nephew, Sir Charles Carrington Hungate, who, as has been shown, died a few months afterwards, and who left no issue. Neither did the Colonist's sons, Charles and William, know that fact, and yet, in turn, they were the true successors to Sir Charles Carrington Hungate and the Baronetcy of Sherburn. The three orphans, William, Charles, and John, son of William of the Second Generation in America, were, at the time of their father's death, too young to know or assert their rights, and continued to reside at the ancestral home in Virginia with their mother.

They grew to manhood amid extraordinary environments and dangers, surrounded by Indians who were often hostile. William was captured and carried away across the Ohio River, whence he made his escape, swam the river, and returned to his home.

William was the oldest of the three brothers. He became an experienced scout, hunter, and Indian fighter. He was at the Battle of Point Pleasant, where General Lewis, after one of the hardest fought battles in Indian warfare, gained a decisive victory which disconcerted the plans of Governor Dunmore, and forced the Indians to sue for peace. These transactions were upon the heels of the Revolutionary War, and, in less than a year thereafter, Dunmore was forced to leave Virginia. General Lewis was avenged, and Ensign William Hungate rejoiced with him in the glorious result.

William Hungate, all his life, had been inured to hardships and trouble. Before his captivity by the Indians, as above related, in 1757 a band of Shawnee Indians raided the Hungate home, and captured his mother, who had married a man named Eson, and his two sisters, Nancy and Elizabeth, who were about nine and twelve years of age. That morning William had gone from home with his stepfather. Charles, John, and their little sister, Mary, were playing in the orchard, and saved their lives by hiding in the weeds and brush, but the mother and two girls were seized by the Indians, and dragged out of the house. As they passed across the yard, the Indians tore an infant from its mother's arms, and dashed its brains out against a log. William's mother and the two daughters were paralyzed by the shock, and, yielding to despair, followed the savages into the wilderness. After three days, the mother made her escape, and returned to the home, but the girls were carried across the Ohio, never to return. It is almost certain that they died in captivity, for, had they been living when Colonel Boquett concluded peace after his victory over the Shawnees and Delawares at Bushy Run in 1764, they would have been given up along with the two hundred and six captives whom, by the treaty, the Indians were compelled to liberate. Ninety of these captives were Virginians.

After that event, the only consolation left the mother was that her children were in Heaven. She lived to the close of the Revolutionary War, and emigrated to Kentucky with her two sons, Charles and John, in 1786.

While the citizens of Virginia were engaged in a struggle for existence against savage foes, the British Ministry was scheming to rob them of their chartered rights, making Governor Dunmore its instrument. This impelled the citizens of Augusta County to hold a public meeting at Staunton, on the twenty-second day of February, 1775, for the purpose of passing resolutions tantamount to a declaration of independence. They named delegates to the Colonial Convention, to be held at Richmond, on March 20.

When the Convention assembled, it took precautionary steps for self-defence. An ordinance was passed July 17, 1775, for raising two regiments of Regulars and for organizing the Militia. The officers and soldiers were to equip themselves. In the following December the Convention passed another ordinance to raise additional troops, and it fully assumed the reins of government. A Committee of Safety was appointed to carry into effect the ordinance. This was over a year before the Declaration of Independence. The Committee issued the first commissions to officers of the army.

At that time General Lewis, Colonel Preston, Colonel Fleming, and the Hungates, William, Charles, and John, were residents of Botetourt County and comparatively near neighbors. They had stood together in the desperate struggle against the Indians and against the treachery of Governor Dunmore, which further exposed them to the cruelties of savages. It was natural, therefore, that the Committee of Safety should select these men as officers, and commission them to raise men and organize the revolt against England. The Army Roll of those first regiments has disappeared, and cannot now be found either at Richmond or at Washington. The commissions, however, of most of the officers have been preserved by their descendants. We have the original commission of William Hungate, duly signed by every member of the Committee of Safety. It is now in the possession of his great-grandson, George Hungate, of Floyd County, Virginia. The following is a *verbatim* copy of the original, made by the writer, about ten years ago, and has never before been published:

"The Committee of Safety for the Colony of Virginia.

"To William Hungate, Gent.

"By virtue of the Power and Authority in General Convention Assembled, we, reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your patriotism, fidelity, courage and good conduct, do, by these Presents, Constitute and appoint you to be Ensign of a Company of Militia of the County of Botetourt, and you are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the trust reposed in you, by disciplining all officers and soldiers under your command. And we do hereby require them to obey you as their Ensign. And you are to observe and follow all such orders

and directions as you shall from time to time receive from the Convention, the Committee of Safety, for the time being, or any Regulations established by the Convention.

"EDMD. PENDLETON
"JOHN PAGE
"THOS LUD LEE
"P CARRINGTON
"DUDLEY DIGGS
"I MERCER

"Given under our hands at Willmington, this 22nd day of October, Ano Domine 1775."

Almost every young man in Botetourt County did service either in the regular Army or in the Militia. There were no Tories in that County. The two brothers of William Hungate served under him. Most of the time they were engaged in protecting the border settlements from Indians—allies of the British.

The authority of the Convention and Committee of Safety became merged in the full-fledged State of Virginia, in May, 1777. The commission of William Hungate as Ensign was doubtless superseded by a new one when the State of Virginia and the Continental Congress became fully organized, which is evidenced by the following order given him by a superior officer:

"June 4th, 1778.

"You are to march the men to one Withers on Sinking Creek, and continue on duty one month unless relieved sooner. You are to keep out two spies pretty constantly, and if they discover any signs of Indians to acquaint Col. Preston or Col. Fleming of it as soon as possible by express. It will also be necessary to range the woods now and then with your party.

"I am Sir, your very humble Servt.

"HUGH CROCKET

"To Mr. William Hungate."

After the close of the Revolutionary War, William Hungate continued to reside in Virginia, and died in Montgomery County, in 1822, leaving descendants, many of whom now reside in Virginia and North Carolina. His two brothers, Charles and John, removed in 1786 to Kentucky, and settled near Harrodsburg, where they resided up to the time of their death. They each left a large family, and their descendants are pretty well scattered over the United States. My grandfather, Colonel John Hungate, of Kentucky, son of said Charles Hungate, was a Paymaster in the War of 1812, with the rank of Colonel.

The Hungate family was represented in both the Union and Confederate Armies, during the Civil War. Some were Captains of Companies, but none became greatly distinguished.

It is a singular fact that every Hungate in England or America, now living,

can trace descent from the founder of the family at Saxton. The English branch now consists of the descendants of William Anning Hungate, and the American branch is wholly descended from Charles Hungate and his son, William, of Virginia. It is doubtful if there is a family in America with a more complete and perfect pedigree, and, I may add, there is not a blot on the escutcheon.

We do not lay claim to heroic deeds and brilliant achievements, nor to distinctive attainments in science or literature, but we are justly proud that every one down the line of succession has been a man of sterling worth and good character, and has rendered valuable service to his country and to humanity.

Robert Hungate was a noted philanthropist of his day, and his memory is cherished, especially in the North of England. His charity has been a wonderful help to the orphans in the West Riding for the last three hundred years, and, we trust, destined to be the means of education for those unfortunates along down the coming ages, as long as the Kingdom of England or the British Empire shall exist. His will is carried into effect by law, and the charity is under the regulation of Parliament.

In conclusion, I will make a few brief observations in regard to the marriage alliances of the ancient families.

The record shows that only in a few instances have members of the family married outside of the aristocracy, the most noted example being the marriage of the daughter of William Hungate with a Mr. Montaigne, father of George Montaigne, who, aided by the Hungates, acquired a splendid education, and became a teacher at Oxford and a clergyman, later a soldier, of whom it is said, that, out of his gown, he turned his back to no man. He was appointed Archbishop of York by James I. His monument is preserved at Cawood, but in a somewhat dilapidated condition.

The Honorable Mary Hungate, daughter of Colonel Francis Hungate, married the Honorable John Fairfax, youngest son of Viscount Lord Thomas Fairfax, General of the Parliamentary Army in the great Civil War that ended with the beheading of Charles I.

The widow of William Hungate, "Gentleman," was the daughter of Sir Henry Wodehous, and a niece of Sir Francis Bacon. After the death of Hungate, she married Sir Julius Caesar. (Brown's *Genesis of the United States, page 840*).

It is gratifying to know that the history of the Hungate family is co-eval with the greatest events in the history of both England and America. There never was but the one family of that name. The American branch has no regrets for the loss of titles and lands in England, since to be an American citizen and sovereign is, by far, a greater honor than to be Baronet of Sherburn.

Edmond Charles Genet

First Minister Plenipotentiary From the Republic of France to the Republic of the United States & His Family, His Career, and the Reasons For His Recall

BY

LOUIS FRANKLIN FACIO GENET

Grandson of "Citizen Genet" and His Wife, Cornelia Clinton

PART III

FTER the unpleasantness at Philadelphia over the *Little Sarah,* Genet left for the more congenial atmosphere of New York. In the Cabinet session, as early as July 22nd, Alexander Hamilton had proposed Genet's recall and at the session of the Cabinet on August 1st the question of what was to be done with him was the order for the day's discussion. Jefferson read over all Genet's correspondence with him, to the Cabinet. It was decided that a full statement of Genet's conduct be made in a letter to Gouverneur Morris and sent with his correspondence, to be by Mr. Morris communicated to the Executive Council of the French Republic, the letter to be so prepared as to serve for the form of communication to the Council, and that in that letter Genet's recall was to be required.

This was agreed to by all of the Cabinet, Jefferson urging that he be allowed to express the desire for Genet's recall with great delicacy, the others being for more peremptory terms. It was also proposed to write to Genet at the same time, to inform him that they had applied for his recall. Jefferson was opposed to this as tending to make Genet more active and making confusion, but he was overruled. It was also proposed that the whole correspondence should be published, together with a statement in the nature of an appeal to the people. Hamilton made a speech "three-quarters of an hour long, as inflammatory and declamatory as if he had been speaking to a jury." Mr. Randolph opposed the measure. Jefferson left it to them, and the meeting adjourned.

At the meeting of August 2nd the question was brought up again. Hamilton spoke again, and Jefferson answered. His reasons for opposition to the statement

in the nature of an appeal and the publication of the correspondence were numerous. He offered as one reason the probable effect it would have on the Democratic Society, "the great circumstance of alarm," and stated that he was afraid it would extend its connections over the continent. If the question were left alone it would die after the ensuing elections were over. He said: "If published it would give new vigor and importance to the Democratic Society, multitudes would join it, mostly to assert the right of voluntary association," and, further, "That the measure was calculated to make the President assume the station of the head of a party instead of the head of a nation." "If we appeal Genet will appeal also; it will become a contest between the President and Genet. Anonymous writers will publish their views; there will be differences of opinion in the public as in our Cabinet, and the same differences in Congress, for it must be laid before them, and therefore it would work very unpleasant at home. How would it work abroad?" "It would be unkind to France after her proofs of friendship. We should rely on that friendship and her justice."

"The Confederacy of Pilnitz was to overthrow France. The interference of France to resist other Governments and incite insurrection was a measure of reprisal." "Yet these princes have been able to make it appear to be a system of France. Colonel Hamilton supposes that Mr. Genet's proceedings here are in pursuance of that system, and we are so to declare it to the world, and to add our testimony to the base calumny of the Princes! What a triumph to them to be backed by our testimony! What a fatal stroke at the cause of Liberty! *Et tu, Brute*—we indispose the French Government and they will retract their offer of a treaty of commerce." "The President was manifestly inclined to appeal to the people."

This meeting adjourned without result other than instructions that the letter to Mr. Morris be written.

At a meeting on August 3rd, whether Congress should be convened was the main question. Knox knocked the blocks down again by saying "We should have had fine work if Congress had been sitting these two last months."

The foregoing quotations were taken from Jefferson's writings.

All of these Cabinet meetings were held at the time of Genet's departure for New York.

In New York City, on August 1, 1793, the citizens were requested to meet in the fields to discuss the propriety of tendering a reception to Mr. Genet, the Minister from France to the United States. On the day after, the following notice appeared in Louden's Diary, a New York publication.

"Yesterday the citizens assembled in the fields to determine on the propriety of addressing Mr. Genet on his arrival in the city. It was supposed a measure so innocent could hardly meet with opposition from any person who retained a remembrance of the eminent services rendered by his nation to this

country, or a regard for the glorious cause in which it is engaged. But, although the vote at last passed unanimously in favor of an address, two gentlemen spoke in opposition to it. Messrs. Munro and Boyd presumed it to be improper, because Mr. *Genet had insulted the President of the United States.* Mr. Boyd had consented to be chairman of the meeting, but declined when hearing of this insult. Mr. Hay and Mr. Matlock spoke with energy in favor of an address after remarking on the impropriety of listening to a vague declaration of this kind (for neither gentleman *gave any authority for his assertion*). They expatiated on the great assistance we had received from France, the glorious cause in which she was engaged, the dangers to our liberties if she was defeated, the amiable character of the minister and the harmless manner in which it was intended to communicate our sentiments.

"These arguments were successful, and had the desired effect,—not a man voted against the address.

"I sincerely congratulate my fellow citizens on this unanimity, and hope they will continue to evince their good will towards a great and generous ally, by every innocent demonstration of their feelings without regarding the impertinence of those who brand with anti-federalism every measure which is not sanctioned by the Secretary of the Treasury and his parasites in this city."

As an offset to this meeting, on the following day a meeting was called for at the City Tavern, to determine the propriety of presenting to the President an address of thanks for the Proclamation of Neutrality, issued three months before. The following resolution was adopted:

"RESOLVED: That our fellow citizens be invited to assemble in front of Trinity Church on Thursday next at 12 o'clock for the purpose of expressing their approbation of the Proclamation of the President and likewise of the Governor of this State in respect to the same.

"Signed, NICHOLAS CRUGER, Chairman."—[*From Louden's Diary, August 3, 1793.*]

In the same issue of the *Diary* appeared a communication from one who signed himself "Decius." It is only one of many anonymous communications dignified by classic pseudonyms, which were a *penchant* with prominent men of those times, even Hamilton, Madison, Jefferson, and others indulging their fancy for them. It is believed that this "Decius" was a relative of John Jay. In this communication, he says:

"Though the object of the meeting in the fields will appear to superficial observers no other than that of paying a compliment to our noble allies; yet I venture to say that the voices of those who have forwarded this meeting are totally different. Among whom did it first originate? An answer to this question will justly excite suspicion in the breast of every federalist. Is not the Supreme Executive the only proper person to receive foreign embassadors and

has not the Citizen Genet been received as Minister Plenipotentiary from the Republic of France by the only person authorized to receive him? What, then, is the interesting occasion of an address to him from the citizens of New York? Believe me, my countrymen, this is a secret assault upon your liberties and the Constitution which secures them. It is a well known fact that Citizen Genet has threatened to appeal to the people if the President of the United States does not comply with his requisitions. What is this but threatening the subversion of your government? and will you suffer yourselves to be the dupes of an anti-federal junto? Is it not apparent that the object of those persons who had proposed addressing Citizen Genet is to encourage him in an appeal to the people, if his wishes are not gratified by the Supreme Executive, the person to whom you have exclusively committed the power to receive ambassadors and other ministers?"

On the 2nd of August the French fleet arrived, consisting of fifteen vessels. The scene is described in *The New York Journal* of August 3. 1793, in part, as follows:

"As they approached the city the citizens congregated at the Battery in great numbers. When the vessels were anchored the admiral and other officers came ashore and called on the Governor at the Government House. Salutes were fired by the fleet and answered by the guns at the Battery. The excitement attending the scene was increased later by the arrival of the frigate *Ambuscade* (under command of Citizen Bompard), which has been on a cruise off the coast and encountered the British frigate *Boston* under Captain Courtenay. . . . Great was the excitement on the return of the *Ambuscade,* and the report of the conflict was received. All agreed that the arrogant Captain Courtenay of the *Boston* received a most severe drubbing from gallant Captain Bompard of the *Ambuscade.*"

On the morning of August 7, 1793, this notice appeared in *Louden's Diary*:

"The Republican citizens of New York and friends of the French Republic will take notice.

"That this morning is expected the arrival of the Ambassador of France; that in testimony of the affections of the citizens of this metropolis for the republic and their high appreciation of the exalted principles of liberty which animate their exertions in the cause of mankind it has been determined to manifest the same by public reception and the usual marks of respect. The ringing of the bells of all the churches in the city will be the signal of his approach; he will be received at the Battery with the discharge of cannon and will be there met by the committee of forty gentlemen appointed by the citizens for that purpose.

"The committee are requested to be punctual in their attendance at Corres Hotel at the first ringing of the bells.

"By order of the Committee.

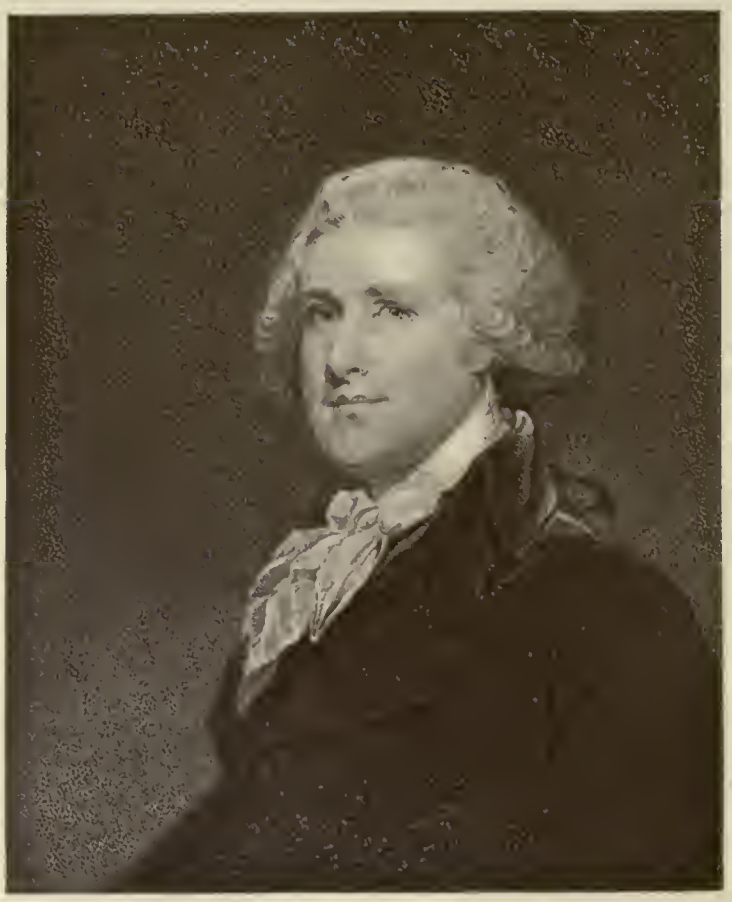
"James Nicholson, Chairman.

"White Matlock, Secretary."

EDMOND CHARLES GENET
From an Old Silhouette

741

743.



ALEXANDER JAMES DALLAS
Secretary of the State of Pennsylvania from 1791 to 1801, and appointed Secretary of the Treasury of the United States by President Madison in 1814

Genet arrived at the Battery August 7, 1793, at half-past twelve o'clock. On his landing thirteen guns were fired, after which he was escorted by the Committee and a large number of citizens to the Tontine Coffee House, where the address prepared by the committee was read by Doctor Pitt Smith. After reading the address the committee escorted Genet to his lodgings on Maiden Lane, and on the following day he replied to their address.

On the 12th of August this card appeared in the *Diary*:

"Mess. Printers:

"Certain late publications render it proper for us to authorize you to inform the public that a report having reached this city from Philadelphia that Mr. Genet, the French Minister, said he would appeal to the people from certain decisions of the President; we were asked on our return from that city whether he had made such a declaration. We answered that he had; and we also mentioned it to others, authorizing them to say that we had so informed them."

"Signed, JOHN JAY,
"RUFUS KING."

Of course, a communication bearing the signatures of two men so high in public affairs as Mr. Jay and Mr. King was a bit of heavy ordinance discharged at the proper time and at the proper place. The populace was now on the *qui vive* and wondering what was next to happen. The following day this communication was published in the *Diary*:

"As it must be obvious that these gentlemen have not come forward in that decided and open manner which might reasonably have been expected, having cautiously kept out of view every circumstance of the TIME, PLACE, MANNER and OCCASION, and therefore rendered it impossible for the friends of Mr. Genet to disprove the charge unless it is made more specific, the public are requested to suspend their opinions until some more explicit and definite communication shall be made by those gentlemen on that subject.

"This request, I feel assured, will be deemed reasonable and proper, especially when it is considered that this publication appears to be principally intended as a justification of certain persons for spreading a report against Mr. Genet under their authority without either averring that it was a fact within their own knowledge, or that they still persist in their first declaration, it being a mere recital of what they once said, and not of what they now affirm to be true.

"The lovers of those republican principles for which the French are now so nobly contesting, will, I have no doubt, join me in sentiment. Those of another description are at perfect liberty to answer my observations, convinced that the more which is said against them, the more rational they will appear to every man who is truly

"IMPORTANT."

In the New York *Journal* of the 13th of August, 1793, a communication, signed "Citizen," was published. This communication was similar in sentiment to that signed "Important," but not so analytical. The writer expressed surprise that Mr. Jay and Mr. King should avow "themselves the authors of a certain report concerning Mr. Genet, the French Minister. Many are the reports which to answer some purpose have been lately circulated injurious to the public character of this gentleman; but only this one, that Mr. Genet said that he would appeal from certain decisions of the President to the people, appears as yet to have any foundation. Of this report Messrs. Jay and King stand fathers. . . . We know that Mr. Jay and Mr. King are men of respectable character, and hold high places, but their word alone, without any proof or circumstance given, ought not to be sufficient for a charge of this kind. . . . Did the President allow these men to carry that report and spread it in New York? If he did not were they not officious and actuated by improper motives in coming forward at this time? In my opinion the President has reason to be displeased with them. They are the greatest enemies to his dignity and the support of our present government."

On the 13th of August, 1793, Genet wrote to Washington in relation to this report and called on him to deny it, saying: "It is become necessary to dissipate these dark calumnies with truth and publicity. I dare, therefore, expect from your candor and probity an explicit declaration, that I have never intimated to you an intention of appealing to the people; that it is not true that a difference in political sentiment has ever betrayed me to forget what was due to your character or to the exalted reputation you had acquired by humbling a tyrant against whom you fought in the cause of liberty.

"The publication of your answer will be the only reply which shall be given to these party men who never fail to confound the individual with affairs of state, which they often make use of as a pretext for their zeal and a reason for dastardly appearing under anonymous signatures.

"As to myself, I have always openly declared what I thought, and signed what I had written, and if others have supposed they could advance my views by newspaper publications and paragraphs, they are much deceived. A good cause needs no advocate. Time and truth will make it triumph in spite of its implacable minions and the present cold indifference of some who were its ancient friends.

"I have the honor, etc.

"GENET," [*State Papers, 1793.*]

This letter was sent to Mr. Washington, received by him, and, no doubt, after some discussion, Mr. Jefferson was directed to answer it, as it appears, in the following manner:

"Phil., Aug. 16, 1793.

"SIR:

"The President of the United States has received the letter which you addressed to him from New York on the 13th inst. and I am desired to observe to you that it is not the established course for the diplomatic characters residing here to have any direct correspondence with him. The Secretary of State is the organ through which their communications should pass.

"The President does not consider it to be within the line of propriety or duty for him to bear evidence against a declaration which, whether made to him or others, is perhaps immaterial. He therefore declines interfering in the case.

"I have the honor, etc.

"The Minister Genet. TH. JEFFERSON" [*State Papers, 1793.*]

These two letters were published in the Philadelphia papers by Jefferson under approval of the Cabinet, and, on receipt of Jefferson's reply, Genet published the two in the New York papers.

On the same day that Genet was writing to Washington, August 13, 1793, Mr. Hamilton wrote to Mr. Jay, in part in reference to the affair of the *Little Sarah.*

"(Mr. Dallas reported to Governor Mifflin that Mr. Genet had absolutely refused to do what had been requested of him—that he had been very angry and intemperate—that he had complained of ill treatment from the government and had declared that he would appeal from the President to the people.)

"I give you these details that you may have the whole subject before you, but I can not give leave to make use of it all; that part (within brackets) may be fairly made use of. This part is so circumstanced as to take away all scruples of personal or official delicacy. 'Tis not so with the rest. It can, therefore, only be confidentially disclosed to persons whose discretion may be relied on, and whose knowledge may be useful. It is true, as you have heard, that things, if possible, still more insulting have since been done by Mr. Genet, but of this at present no use can be made. No more than of some antecedent transactions, nearly, if not quite, as exceptionable. The mass would confound Mr. Genet and his associates; perhaps it may not be long before a promulgation of it may take place.

"I am of opinion with you that the charge should be insisted upon.

"The case does not require the naming of General Knox and myself and it will therefore not be done." [*History of the Republic, by J. H. Hamilton, Vol. 5, p. 304.*]

On the 16th of August, 1793, the Cabinet determined to request the recall of Mr. Genet. This was done by Mr. Jefferson in a letter to Mr. Morris, setting forth Genet's acts up to that time. A copy of this letter was sent to Genet.

There is nothing to show that Genet made any further efforts to disprove

the charge but rested on his letter to General Washington. The question was agitated by his friends, however, and he was induced by the advice of his friends to bring suit against Jay and King for slander. He took the initiative in this on the 14th of November, 1793, by addressing to Mr. Edmund Randolph, the Attorney General, a letter, embodying his complaints and asking him to appoint time and place for a discussion of the procedure. He sent a copy of the letter to Mr. Jefferson, deeming that to be a proper courtesy. Immediately on receipt of Genet's letter, Randolph wrote him, saying he would await his arrival in Philadelphia, as he understood that he was soon expected to be there, and that they could meet and discuss the proper course to pursue. [*State Papers, 1793.*]

Genet now became very active in his endeavors to ferret out the source of the report and gave the Cabinet no little concern as to the ultimate outcome of his aggressiveness. It was even proposed that his functions be suspended. This was opposed by Jefferson, as it was expected that they soon would learn of his recall, requested in August. On the 29th of November, 1793, Jay and King made out and published a report, setting forth in detail the story as they claimed to have derived it, and getting Hamilton and Knox to sign a confirmatory certificate. This report, after a dissertation of the evil effects of foreign influence on the peace and independence of the country, re-stated the original report given by them to the public on the 12th of August, and stated that when they left Philadelphia, after hearing the statement of Genet's threat, they were convinced of its truth; that on their arrival in New York they found the report to be in circulation, and that it had the same effect upon others as upon them; that to many a declaration so extraordinary did not appear probable and their having asserted it to be true was questioned, and they were called upon in the public papers to admit or deny it. They criticized Genet's letter to Washington, and said "that it leaves the question whether he had ever made it at all entirely out of sight." "To whom the declaration was made, was a question foreign to the inquiry." "The true and only question was whether he had made such declaration to anybody." "He now denies having made such a declaration." They then proceeded as follows:

"The President having given instructions to the Governors of the several States relative to the fitting out of armed vessels in our ports by any of the belligerent powers—on Saturday, the 6th of July last, the warden of the port of Philadelphia reported to Governor Mifflin that the brig *Little Sarah,* since called the *Petit Democrat,* an English merchant vessel mounting from two to four guns, taken off our coast and carried into that port by the French frigate the *Ambuscade,* had materially augmented her military equipment, having fourteen iron cannon and six swivels mounted; and it being understood that her crew was to consist of (including officers, men and boys) one hundred and twenty.

"Governor Mifflin, in consequence of this information, sent Mr. Dallas to Mr.

Genet to endeavor to prevail upon him to enter into an engagement for detaining the vessel in port, without the necessity of employing military force for that purpose. Mr. Dallas reported to Governor Mifflin that Mr. Genet had absolutely refused to do what had been requested of him; that he had been angry and intemperate; that he had complained of ill treatment from the government and had declared that he would appeal from the President to the people."

Mr. Jefferson's visit to Mr. Genet on Sunday, the 7th of August, on the same occasion was also recounted, and Mr. Jefferson's inferences, and they then referred to Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Knox, "for the truth and accuracy of their statements from whom we derived the information on which we relied respecting the facts contained in it."

Their report bears date, New York, November 26, 1793. Attached to the report was the following:

"We, the subscribers, certify that we did severally communicate to the above mentioned John Jay and Rufus King the particulars contained in the foregoing statement. That such of them as are herein mentioned to have been reported to Governor Mifflin by Mr. Dallas were communicated by the Governor to each of us, as having been received by him from Mr. Dallas. That such of them as respected Mr. Jefferson, including the information to him from Mr. Dallas of Mr. Genet having said that he would appeal from the President to the people, were communicated to us by Mr. Jefferson.

"ALEXANDER HAMILTON,
"H. KNOX.

"Philadelphia, November 29, 1793." [*From the United States Gazette.*]

On September 18th, Genet wrote Jefferson, in reply to Jefferson's letter, enclosing copy of his communication to Morris, relative to his (Genet's) recall. In this letter Genet expressed himself very boldly, and with some invective, and closed as follows:

"If it be to this that tend all the machinations set in motion against the French Republicans, and against their friends in the United States; if it be to attain this more conveniently, that they wish to have here, instead of a democratic Ambassador, a Minister of the ancient regimen very complaisant, very mild, well disposed to pay his court to people in place, to conform himself blindly to whatsoever may flatter their views, and their projects, and to prefer above all to the modest and sure society of good farmers, plain citizens, honest artisans, that of distinguished personages, who speculate so patriotically on the public funds, on the lands and paper of the State, I know not if the French Republic can find for you, at this day such a man in their bosom; but in all events, Sir, I can assure you that I will press very strongly its government to sacrifice me without hesitation if this injustice offers the least utility." [*State Papers, 1793.*]

This letter miscarried and did not reach Jefferson until December 2nd.

At a Cabinet meeting on November 8th, held at the President's house, several letters from Genet were read. The President observed that Mr. Genet's conduct continued to be of so extraordinary a nature that he proposed for serious consideration whether he should not have his functions discontinued and be ordered away. He went at length into observations on his conduct to raise against the Executive, first the people, second, the State governments, third, the Congress. He showed he felt the venom of Genet's pen. Randolph was firmly opposed. Hamilton and Knox favored Genet's dismissal. The President finally left it for consideration.

On November 18th, at a meeting at the President's house, the question was again brought up, Hamilton and Knox being in favor of Genet's dismissal. Jefferson and Randolph opposed this, Jefferson saying that they must soon hear from Mr. Sears, the messenger sent to France, relative to Genet's recall; that to adopt the course proposed might antagonize Congress and carry many over to Genet's side. He said that Genet would not obey the order. Randolph said: "Genet is dead in public opinion if we would but leave him so." The President regretted that there was so little unanimity, and said that, as it was, he was left just where they found him. [*Jefferson's Writings, Vol. 1, p. 405.*]

Congress was convened on the 3rd of December, 1793. In his message to Congress, Washington mentioned the offences committed by Genet and the fact that his recall had been requested. On the 10th of December was published Mr. Dallas' denial of having said that Mr. Genet had threatened to appeal from the President to the people. The report of Mr. Dallas, as published in the Philadelphia *Advertiser,* is as follows:

"To the Public:

"Agreeably to the promise published on the 6th inst., I shall now proceed to declare the facts relative to Mr. Genet's conversation with me, in the case of the *Little Sarah.* I feel, indeed, the indelicacy of disclosing what may appear, in some respects, to be an official, and in others, a private, communication; but the anxiety that the public mind has experienced on the subject; the misapprehensions that have prevailed, and the example which is derived from the conduct of all the other persons who have been involved in the discussions will, I think, be deemed a sufficient justification of the liberty that I find it necessary to take.

"Late in the evening of Saturday, the ——— day of July last, I was informed that the *Little Sarah* (whose warlike equipment, in opposition to the declared neutrality of the port, had before attracted the attention of the government) would sail in the course of the ensuing morning. Having immediately communicated this information to the Governor, I received instruction to prepare for calling out a party of the military to prevent at all events the departure of the vessel; but on my suggesting that the necessity of pursuing hostile measures might probably be superseded by an application to the discretion of the French

Minister, I was directed to wait upon that gentleman with an overture for an amicable arrangement before the party should be summoned to parade.

"It was about eleven o'clock at night when I arrived at Mr. Genet's house. Mr. Pascal withdrew from the room into which I was introduced soon after I entered it, but Mr. Bournonville and Mr. Dupont remained there during the whole of my visit.

"I apologized for so unseasonable an intrusion, and lamented that my errand was not of an agreeable import. I stated the nature, extent and obligation of the instructions, which the Governor had received from the President, for the purpose of preserving the neutrality of the United States within the jurisdiction of the State of Pennsylvania; and I described the circumstances that rendered the *Little Sarah* an object of those instructions, as well as the recent intelligence of her intention to leave the port, which the Governor was bound to prevent. I mentioned, however, that the Governor was desirous to avoid the use of any compulsory means on the occasion, and therefore, as the allegation had been made, that the vessel belonged to the Republic of France and not to private individuals, might produce an exception from the general rule, in her favor, he would cheerfully rely on the minister's engagement that she would not depart till there was an opportunity to consult the President (who was then, I believe, on his way from Mount Vernon to the city of Philadelphia), upon the merits of this particular case.

"This representation was scarcely delivered, when Mr. Genet exclaimed, with great vehemence, 'that the proceeding was very extraordinary, improper and unjust.' He thought that his uniform acquiescence in the wishes of the government (instanced in the surrender of the *Grange,* etc.) had not merited this return; which he said, however, should regulate his conduct in the future. He expressed surprise that the first intimation which was given of the matter should be accompanied with a threat. He complained in strong terms, and with many angry epithets, of the ill treatment that he had received from some of the officers of the government, which he contrasted with the cordial attachment that was expressed by the people at large for his nation. He ascribed the conduct of those officers to principles inimical to the cause of France and liberty. He expressed apprehensions that, owing to their influence, even the President had in that respect been misled. He observed with considerable emphasis that the President was not the sovereign of the country; for he could not legislate on general subjects; nor could he declare war; or make peace; that Congress, the depository of those powers, was the only constituted body that could, on the part of the United States, give a constitutional interpretation, possibly involving the question of war and peace to the terms of the treaty; that it was therefore the duty of the President (a duty of which he had frequently pressed the performance) to have convened Congress before he ventured to decide, by the

proclamation of neutrality, upon the general relation between America and the belligerent powers; or to prohibit, by his instructions to the State Governors, the enjoyment of the particular rights which France claimed under the express stipulations of the treaty. He urged that the powers he had received from his constituents gave him no latitude upon the point now in controversy; that the privilege to arm and equip their vessels was deemed by them indisputable; founded upon the plain meaning of the 22nd article of the treaty of commerce; and that he could not, therefore, enter into any arrangement which might appear as a waiver of the privilege. He insisted that the President's construction was neither just nor obligatory, that notwithstanding the existing causes which would warrant an abrupt departure his regard for the people of America would induce him to remain here, amidst the insults and disgusts that he daily suffered in his official character from the public officers, till the meeting of Congress. He spoke of publishing his correspondence with the officers of the government, together with a general narrative of his proceedings; and he said if Congress agreed in the opinions, and supported the measures of the President in relation to the Republic of France, he would certainly then withdraw, conscious of having discharged his duty, and leave the dispute to be finally adjusted by the two nations themselves.

"As soon as I could get an opportunity, I recalled Mr. Genet's attention to the immediate object of my visit; but he peremptorily refused to enter into any engagement for suspending the departure of the *Little Sarah,* and added in a manner which I thought intemperate that "he hoped no attempt to sieze her would be made; for as she belonged to the republic, she must defend the honor of her flag, and would certainly repel force by force.

"Such was Mr. Genet's conversation with me, and it will be allowed that although I am responsible for the fidelity of the recital I am not responsible for any of the inferences which have been, or may be, drawn from the facts that it contains.

"My report to the Governor on the same night, and to Mr. Jefferson on the succeeding morning, corresponded so precisely as I can repeat it with the account which I have now given, and I well remember that Mr. Jefferson's relation of the discourse that passed in his subsequent interview with Mr. Genet, on the same occasion, so nearly corresponded with my report, that the similarity became a matter of remark with the Governor and Mr. Jefferson as well as with me.

"But it will be expected, perhaps, that I should give a more direct reply to the specific charge which states that I had reported to the Governor and communicated to Mr. Jefferson 'that Mr. Genet had declared that he would appeal from the President to the people.'

"Upon inquiry I find that the Governor thinks that I made use of the word 'appeal' towards the close of my report in this manner; that if after the hearing

was had before the Congress Mr. Genet did not receive satisfaction on behalf of his nation, he would publish his appeal, withdraw, and leave the governments themselves to settle the dispute.

"The word 'appeal,' however, appears, in my opinion, to be more applicable to those facts which represent that Mr. Genet, controverting the justice and force of the President's decisions on the treaty, etc., declared a determination to address Congress on the subject; but in either place, if it is not construed necessarily to import that I heard a declaration from Mr. Genet that he would 'appeal from the President to the people,' I am content to admit the expression as mine.

"But I am likewise apprised that soon after the transaction; when, however, the report was circulating that Mr. Genet had used the expression in question, when it was reported to have been used by him in his conversation with Mr. Jefferson; and when Mr. Jefferson thought it proper to remove impressions made by that circumstance in the report; he stated in an official memorandum that Mr. Genet's declaration of an intention to appeal from the President to the people was not expressed to him, but to me. Whether Mr. Jefferson employed the language of his own inference from my recital on the occasion, or adopted the language of the current rumor, I will not attempt to discuss; but if in the same early stage of the business, I had also enjoyed the means of explanation; I, like Mr. Jefferson, should then have said, what I said the moment I heard the suggestion applied to me; what I have since taken every proper opportunity of saying; and what I now most solemnly say, that Mr. Genet never did in his conversation with me declare 'that he would appeal from the President to the people,' or that he would make any other appeal which conveyed to my mind the idea of exciting insurrection or tumult.

"Upon the whole, as my communication to the Governor and Mr. Jefferson were of an official and confidential nature, I think that *I* have cause to complain; and the candor of others will induce them to lament, that I was not personally consulted (which common courtesy, as well as common caution, might have dictated), before Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Knox (who had daily opportunity of seeing me) undertook to propagate the report connected with my name, or at least before Mr. Jay and Mr. King undertook to vouch for its authenticity.

"The most attentive hearer may sometimes misconceive the idea of the person addressing him; the most upright narrator can seldom adhere strictly to the language of his author, and I am not aware of any just purpose which could require that the sentiment which has been circulated should be immutably fixed; or that form of words in which it is clothed should be irrevocably prescribed.

"A. J. DALLAS.

"Philadelphia, 7th December, 1793."

In the meantime Jefferson's letter to Gouverneur Morris, with all papers relating to it, had been despatched to Paris, and Jefferson wrote to Genet informing him of the fact. This was on the 16th of August, 1793.

Jefferson's letter to Mr. Morris is too long to embody in this article and so is Genet's reply thereto, but Genet says in his letter to Jefferson, in after years, previously quoted from, that it was "replete with policy without principle, and a portion without proof, upon which Robespierre's attention to the dictatorial voice, and aspiring to the same eminence in France which Washington occupied in America, did not hesitate to sacrifice me in the most conspicuous manner, in order to habituate the French to venerate under the mask of a Presidency, a popular Crown. But it was not sufficient to dissipate the alarm, that I should lose my office; it was necessary in order to complete my ruin that the most arbitrary order,—solicited for my successor,—should suspend any proceedings which would have undertaken in your tribunals, upon that appeal to the people in which you were implicated. Finally, it was necessary that the Democratic Societies, which a sincere, an innocent and a pure attachment to the cause of France and of Liberty, had conclusively created, should be calumniated in the bosom of the National Convention of France. To accomplish this object was the principal aim and end of Mr. Sears' mission to France, and of various private correspondence pursued by different members of the Federal Government with certain visible and invisible citizens of Paris. While, Sir, all these masked batteries were pointed at me, you continued to see me, to receive me, with a marked interest in what I confided to you concerning our design which we had borrowed from England against the Continental possessions of Spain; for I told you everything, I consulted you upon every measure, even on the part which I ought to take in the calamitous condition of our colonies. And not only was I thus frank with you on these several topics, but when the President came from Mount Vernon to Philadelphia, recalled by the clamors of the British faction and the ministers to whom he delegated the executive authority during his absence, I communicated to you the resolution I had adopted to open with frankness my heart to him, and to try to terminate controversies becoming every day more serious."

Jefferson had opposed this, on the ground that, as all communications with the President must pass through him as Secretary of State, Washington would probably not receive him. Genet went, however, to the President. He says:

"I found him in company with Mrs. Washington and the Senator, Mr. Morris. After some polite civilities with Mrs. Washington I got up and approached him and told him I wished to have a private conference with him. At first he made me the answer foreseen by you, but upon my assuring him that it was of the utmost importance for the sake of harmony between our respective countries, that perhaps we were both deceived, and that we ought to understand one another, he passed with me into an adjoining room. On being seated I addressed him as a man who cordially intended the best. I protested to him that I had received and not given the impulse which made the government uneasy, and which I thought was only the pusillanimous effect of the honesty of the

people. I assured him in truth that I had been concerned at reading in the newspapers certain charges against his conduct to France, charges which had been attributed to me and in which I had no participation; that my correspondence was indeed animated but if he would condescend to put himself in my position and to consider that by his proclamation of neutrality and the interpretations that had been given to it, he had annulled the most sacred treaties, deprived the French people, at a moment when they were in the greatest want of it, for the defence of their colonies, of an alliance which they considered not only of the greatest value to them, but as having been very dearly purchased, inasmuch as it had been cemented by the blood of Americans and French flowing at the same time, in the same sacred cause, and mingling on the same battle ground. If (I said to him) he would but give their proper force to those, not merely possible but very impressive and exciting considerations, he must acknowledge that unless I was a traitor, I could not act otherwise, but that as much as I had shown myself difficult and inexorable on the strict execution of our old treaties, so much the more would I show myself generous if he, when well informed of the magnanimity of France would break under the feet of Liberty the treaties concluded with Louis XVI with the view of forming a new compact which should only embrace principles founded on Eternal Truth, and the nature and fitness of things. To this—to which he seemed to listen—the only reply the President made was 'that he did not read the newspapers and he did not care much what they said about his administration.' "

Genet called on Jefferson the next morning and recounted his call on Washington. Jefferson showed his displeasure. Washington appeared on the scene, and Genet hoped to be requested to remain, but Jefferson gave him a sign of dismissal and Genet retired. He never knew what transpired at that meeting of Washington and Jefferson.

Thus that pernicious lie was formulated and disseminated. The purpose of it is clear. The object was accomplished. On the 22nd day of February, 1794, Edmond Charles Genet's career in the exercise of the functions of Minister Plenipotentiary from the Republic of France to the Republic of the United States of North America ceased, and Joseph Fouchet entered upon the duties as his successor. On that same day, which was the birthday of George Washington, the first formal observance of the occasion occurred. There were banquets in the evening, civic and military parades in the day, congratulatory addresses, etc. Genet was an honored guest at the banquet of the Second Regiment. He was toasted and feelingly responded.

It has been said he was recalled in disgrace. This is as one may view it, according to his knowledge. But, as a matter of fact, Genet did not receive his recall until 1804. Besides having been listed in France as an *Emigré* after the decree of October 11, 1793, his recall was held back by the actions of Minister

James Monroe, as the following extract from the letter of Mr. Monroe to Genet, dated February 5, 1803, shows:

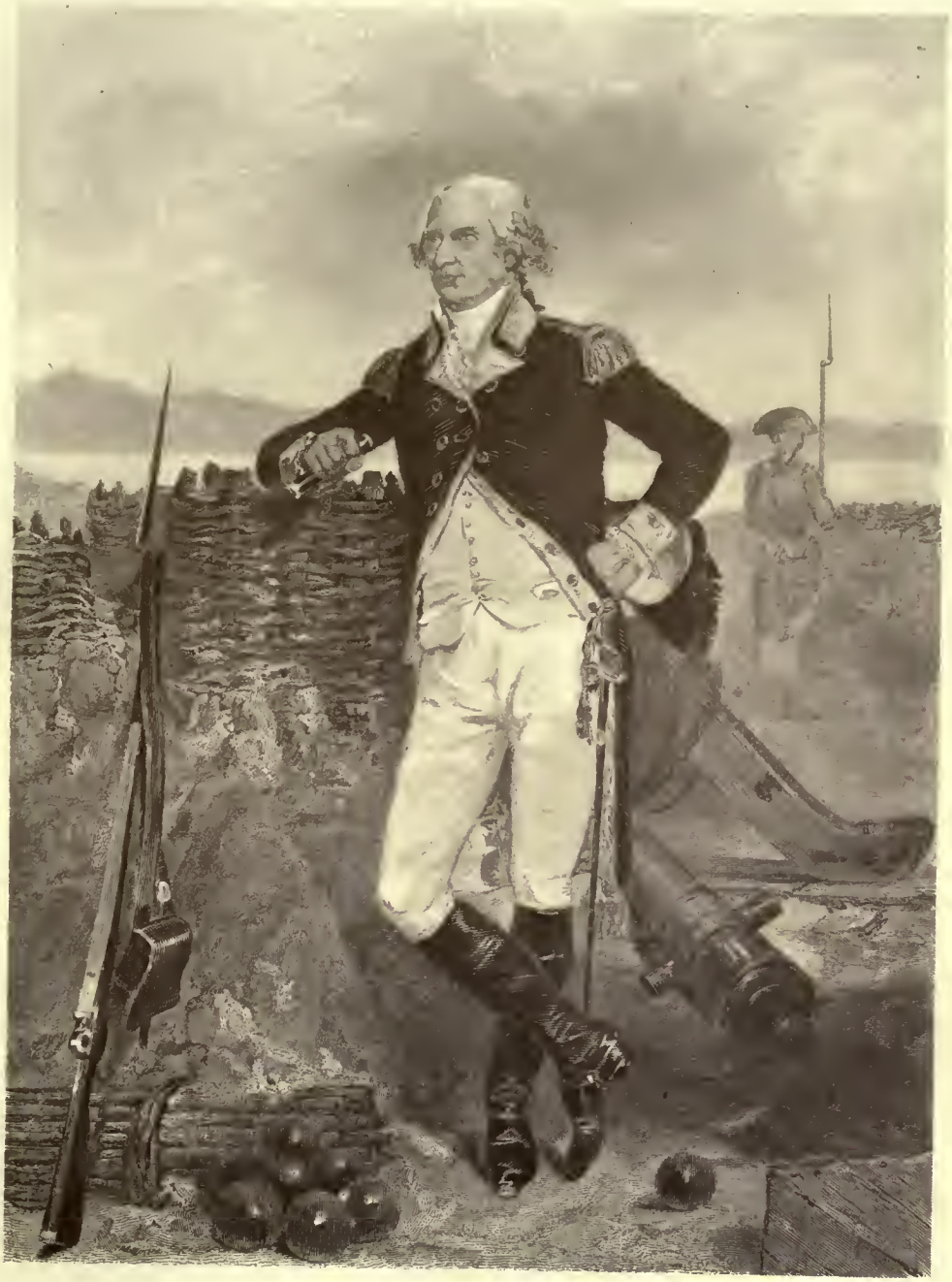
"I want to state to you that my situation laid a restraint on me, so as to prevent my promoting the object of your recall and to impose a reserve in certain cases, when had I been free to act, the good opinion that I entertained of your moral and political principles might have suggested a greater freedom of action."

The above extract is from Mr. Monroe's answer to a letter from Genet, in reference to a set of Sevres china sent by Madame Campan to Mrs. Genet, in the custody of Mr. Monroe, and which Mrs. Genet had not yet received. In that letter Genet says: "Though sensible of the injustice I had suffered, but mistrusting my generosity you have, my dear Sir, employed your influence to prevent my undeceived fellow citizens to recall me honorably after your government had obtained from their ignorance the punishment of my faithfulness to their awful orders, I wish you well."

So the pernicious effects of the lie continued, and its malignant influences are still filtering through the pages of history, blasting and scarring the memory of a man whose life was one of truth, honor, and virtue, and whose conduct was always an example of those principles; whose mentality was superior to that of his maligners, who diplomatically played falsehood against truth to ruin an innocent man and to glory over his downfall.

Edmond Charles Genet died in 1834. His ashes commingled with the soil of his adopted country (which he loved), in a rural cemetery, under a modest slab, bearing a simple epitaph bespeaking his merits. In thinking of him as he was, as Bertrand de Lacombe, in his "Life of Talleyrand" declares him to have been, "the purest of the pure," it is but small homage to his shade to reverently say

Requiescat in pace!



GEORGE CLINTON
First Governor of the State of New York and Vice-President of the United States under Jefferson and Madison

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CORNELIA, DAUGHTER OF GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON OF NEW YORK, AND THE WIFE OF EDMOND CHARLES GENET

The Controversy Over the Northwest Territory

BY

GEORGE COWLES LAY

Member of the New York Historical Society

"As geographers, Sosius, crowd into the edges of their maps parts of the world which they do not know about, adding notes in the margin to the effect that beyond this lies nothing but sandy deserts full of wild beasts and unapproachable bogs" — Plutarch's Life of Theseus.

DURING and after the Revolutionary War, the thirteen States became involved in a serious dispute over the title and possession of the so-called "back country" or the "Crown Lands" extending from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi, which threatened to disrupt the confederation.

Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Massachusetts, and Connecticut lay claim to these Western lands under early charters or patents, which purported to grant unexplored territories extending to the South Sea, or Pacific Ocean, or, more indefinitely, from sea to sea. New York enlarged the limits of her obscure charter upon the theory that the Six Nations, which held sway in the western part of New York and extended their dominion north and south of Lake Erie, even to the Mississippi, had acknowledged their subjection to the Crown and the provincial Governors of New York. The other States, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, on the other hand, insisted that the western lands should be held and sold for the benefit of all the States.

Maryland led the opposition, declined to join the confederation until 1781, and aroused such a bitter feeling that Congress recommended the cession by the several States to the United States of all their rights to the back lands or the Northwest Territory. The effect of the agitation was that New York, Massachusets, Connecticut, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, one by one, relinquished all their rights and titles (with some reservations), and the great States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin were ultimately carved out of the disputed territory, which for a long time was governed under the terms of the celebrated Northwest Ordinance of 1787.

In the treatment of this famous controversy, historians have eulogized the States for their generosity in yielding their claims to this rich territory. The historians of Virginia and Massachusetts constantly referred to their *"chartered* rights," and claimed the western lands as within their *"chartered* limits."

George Ticknor Curtis, in his "Constitutional History of the United States," exalted the surrender by New York in these eloquent words: "She threw aside her charters and her title deeds; she ceased to use the language of royal grants and discarded the principle of succession. She came forth from among her parchments into the forum of conscience, in presence of the whole American people; and submitted to the national will the determination of her western boundaries and devoted to the national benefit her vast claims to unoccupied territory." (*Note 1*).

Douglas Campbell, another New York historian, in the same spirit of eulogy, said: "After our revolution, the question of ownership arose and the conflicting rights of the adverse claimants barred the way to a federal union. Then New York, which as successor to the Six Nations was the only State having a valid title, exhibited a generosity unparalleled in history. While the other States were haggling over terms, she stepped forward and as a free gift donated the whole territory unconditionally to the United States." (*Note 2*).

James Madison, however, attacked the pretentions of New York in these words: "The claim of New York is very extensive, *but her title very flimsy.* She urges it more with the hope of obtaining some advantage or credit by its cession than of ever maintaining it." (*Note 3*).

Again, in a letter to Edmund Randolph, dated November 5, 1782, Madison wrote: "Upon the whole, New York has by a fortunate coincidence of circumstances or by skilful management or by both, succeeded in a very important object by ceding a claim *which was tenable neither by force or right,* she has acquired with Congress the merit of reliability, rendered the title to her reservation more 'respectable.'" (*Note 4*).

Hildreth, referring to New York's cession, says: "New York, *whose claim was the vaguest and most shadowy,* led the way." (*Note 5*).

As New York's claims were assailed by Virginia, so Virginia's "chartered rights" were vigorously attacked by Maryland. In view of the weakness of Virginia's title, the well known attitude of Maryland and the argument of Thomas Paine in "The Public Good," we read with some surprise the statement of McMaster: "No member of the confederation possessed such extensive, such rich, such *populous* lands as Virginia. Out of the territory *then conceded to belong to her* have been formed the states of Michigan and Wisconsin and so

Note 1. Vol. I, p. 95, 1889.
Note 2. "Historical Fallacies Regarding Colonial New York," a paper read before Oneida Historical Society. January 14, 1879.
Note 3. Sparks' Washington, Vol. 8, p. 547; Rives' Life of Madison, Vol. 1, p. 458.
Note 4. Madison's Works, Putnam's Edition, Vol. I, p. 252.
Note 5. Hildreth's History of the United States, Vol. VIII, p. 400.

much of Ohio, Indiana, and of Illinois as lie between the turbid waters of the Ohio and the forty first parallel of latitude." (*Note 1*).

Tracing the events leading up to the first assertion by the several States of the claims to the Northwest Territory, one is forced to the conclusion that the States that claimed the unsettled lands showed no generosity at all, but, as Maryland insisted in 1779, "were ambitiously grasping at territories, to which they had not the least shadow of exclusive right."

The history of North America has been written by many pens, but it is easy now to establish the title to lands now forming the United States, first by discovery and settlement, then by conquest, and finally by treaties and by purchase from the Indians.

The western continent, extending to the South Sea, at the time of the early Colonial charters, was covered with impenetrable forests or consisted of desert plains, no doubt traversed by wandering bands of Indians.

In the region East of the Alleghanies the Six Nations were most powerful, the Cherokees and the Creeks occupied the Southern portion of North America, and the Illinois or Wabash Indians claimed lands on the Mississippi, Kaskaskia, and Ohio Rivers. Isolated tribes west of the Mississippi may have used the virgin soil without title other than possession, which shifted according to the demands of savage warfare or the chase.

The Indians could not justly claim title to vast tracts of country, "because they had seen them from the mountain or passed them in the chase" (*Note 2*), nor could the hardy adventurers who discovered North America acquire a property in the soil from the Atlantic to the Pacific and dominion over the natives "by sailing along the coast and occasionally landing upon it." (*Note 3*).

The principle, therefore, adopted by the European nations was that by discovery they had the sole right of acquiring the soil and making settlements upon it, but this principle gave no authority to dispossess the natives but only the right of pre-emption. This was recognized by the Dutch and by William Penn, who purchased lands from the Indians at the time of the early colonization in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

It is perfectly clear that the discovery of the Atlantic border and the scattered settlements east of the Alleghanies gave no right or title to vast regions of the West then unexplored.

The early grants by the English Crown of territories to the South Sea or from sea to sea were not based upon discovery and settlement, and therefore were little more than stretches of the imagination, or, at most, paper titles to countries, of which, in their limits and extent, the officers of the Crown and the explorers had no conception. The South Sea, at least in North America, had never been

Note 1. McMaster's Hist. People of the U. S., Vol I, p. 148.
Note 2. President Jackson's First Annual Message, Vol. II of Messages of the Presidents, p. 457.
Note 3. Chief Justice Marshall in Worcester vs. Georgia, 6 Peters, 515.

reached and its identity and distance from the Atlantic Coast were, of course, unknown. (*Note 1*).

Virginia's patent in 1609 granted to the London Company "All those lands, countries and territories from Cape or Point Comfort along the sea coast two hundred miles northward and two hundred miles southward and all that circuit of land lying from the sea coast up into the land throughout *from seas to sea,* west and northwest." The point two hundred miles north of Cape Comfort was at the beginning of the fortieth degree of North latitude.

The Patent for the Council for New England of 1620 granted the territory between the fortieth and forty-eighth degree of latitude and in length *"throughout the maine land from sea to sea."*

The first charter of Massachusetts of 1628 extended her territory "throughout the mayne landes there from the Atlantic * * on the east parte to the South sea on the west parte."

Connecticut obtained her charter in 1662, which stretched in a long, narrow strip "in longitude from Narragansett Bay on the East *to the South sea on the West parte."*

So the charter of Carolina in 1662 included "the tract of ground extending from Lucke Island, which lieth in the southern Virginia seas to the west, *as far as the South sea."*

The Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia, incorporated by the Crown in 1732, were granted a part of South Carolina from the Northern part of the Savannah River to the most southern stream of the Altamaha River and "Westerly from the heads of said rivers respectively *in direct lines to the south seas."*

Thomas Paine, in his pamphlet, "Public Good," published in 1780, attacked the claims of Virginia to the Northwest Territory as preposterous, and submitted a diagram showing what Virginia seriously claimed at the time of the Revolution. (*Note 2*). A reference to the accompanying map will show the lines drawn by Paine, the limits of Pennsylvania, and the strips claimed by Massachusetts and Connecticut. It will be noted that the Northwest line from the 40th degree of North latitude cut off a large part of Pennsylvania and conflicted with the narrow strips claimed by Massachusetts and Connecticut. (*Note 3*).

Note 1. Stith, in his History of Virginia, tells of Capt. Newport and a company of men, who in 1608 were instructed to go up the James River beyond the Falls and from thence they were to proceed, carrying their barge beyond the Falls to convey them to the South Sea; and ordered not to return without a lump of gold or a certainty of the South Sea. Book II, p. 77, Sabin's Reprint, 1865. Hutchinson, in his History of Massachusetts Bay, says: "Some of Champlain's people in the beginning of the last century, who had been but a few days' march from Quebec, returned with great joy, supposing that from the top of a high mountain they had discovered the South Sea." (Quoted in Paine's "Public Good," published in London, 1844.) Madison in a letter to Jefferson of March 18, 1782, refers to an old map published in 1650 which represents the South Sea at about ten days' travel from the head or falls of the James River. He suspected that the map was an artifice to entice emigrants from England by a flattering picture of the advantages of the country, viz.: the vicinity of the South Sea and the facility it afforded to trade with the Eastern world. Madison's Writings, Putnam's Edition, 1900, Vol. I, p. 180.

Note 2. Political Works of Thomas Paine, p. 165, London, 1844.

Note 3. That Virginia actually claimed under the 1609 charter as shown on Paine's map is confirmed by the following authorities: William Wirt Henry says: "They (the lines across the continent) were plainly intended to reach from the Atlantic to the Pacific, then called the South Sea,

So the charter to the Duke of York in 1664 extended to the Connecticut River, thus interferring with the grants to the Colonies of Connecticut and Massachusets Bay.

The charter to William Penn likewise embraced a part of the territory of Connecticut, if there was any validity at all in the latter's claim to the South Sea.

In the construction of these early charters the intention of the Crown not to grant territories already occupied by other governments should not be overlooked.

In Virginia's charter of 1606 the intention was expressed not to grant parts and territories in America "actually possessed by any Christian Prince or People" and the third charter of Virginia contained the proviso that "the premises granted be not actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian *Prince* or *Estate*."

The first charter of Massachusetts in 1628 also contained the proviso that "if the premises granted were actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian *Prince* or *Estate* then this present grant shall not extend to any such parts."

At the date of this latter charter the Dutch, under the States General of the Netherlands, had already settled New Amsterdam and had planted colonies at Fort Orange (now Albany), and on the Delaware and Connecticut Rivers.

In 1629 the colony of Rensselaerwyck was settled under a charter of the West India Company by Killian Van Renssalaer, the first Patroon, whose title was recognized and confirmed by the Royal Governors of New York after 1664. For nearly fifty years prior to 1664 the Dutch continued in undisturbed possession of what was known as New Netherland, which was claimed to extend to the Connecticut River.

The grant to Massachusetts, although purporting to cover an unknown territory to the South Sea, expressly excluded any title to parts of the country then occupied by any Christian Prince or State. Therefore, in view of the occupation of New Netherland by the Dutch, Massachusetts could not reasonably claim what is now New York. When, in 1664, Governor Nicolls, under the Duke of York's charter, in the prosecution of the war between England and the Netherlands, captured New Amsterdam and wrested from the Dutch control of all the settlements on the Hudson and Delaware Rivers, the English King, Charles the Second, conquered New Netherland, and this conquest was afterwards confirmed by the Treaty of Breda in 1667.

By this Treaty it was stipulated that both parties, Charles the Second and the States General, shall keep and possess thereafter "with plenary sovereignty, propriety and possession all such lands, islands, cities, forts, places and colonies

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and one was to he west and the other northwest. The only way of fulfilling these conditions was to run the lower line due west along the 34th parallel of latitude and to run the upper line northwest, commencing on the Atlantic coast where the 40th parallel strikes it. Such was the construction adopted by Virginia. * * * By the lines claimed hy Virginia the larger part of the territory embraced in limits of Penna and all the territory west and northwest of that State south of the Lakes, were within the chartered limits of Virginia." Life of of Patrick Henry, Vol. II, p. 100; Old Northwest, by Dr. B. A. Hinsdale, p. 193. New York. 1888; Virginia vs. Garner, 2 Grattan R., p. 655.

as during the war they have by force of arms gotten and detained from the other party." The effect of this treaty was to establish the sovereignty of England over the Dutch possessions in North America.

Upon a renewal of the war between England and the States General, New York in 1673 fell into the hands of the Dutch, whose possession was short-lived, for, by a new treaty made at Westminster on the 9th of February, 1674, New York was restored to the English.

By this last Treaty, Surinam or Dutch Guiana in South America, which had during the war been surrendered by the English Governor to the Dutch Naval Commander, Quirini, was, however, retained by the States General as a sort of consideration for the restoration of New York.

The former Treaty of Breda was confirmed, in so far as it was not inconsistent with the Treaty of Westminster.

The sovereignty of New York was thus again confirmed in the Crown of England and the King renewed his charter to the Duke of York, who in turn made a new grant to Sir George Carteret, of New Jersey, in almost the identical language of the first grant to Berkeley and Carteret. It will thus be observed that by one conquest and by two treaties the English King obtained sole jurisdiction over New York and New Jersey and exercised this jurisdiction by grants, which expressly and in unmistakable language included the land to the Connecticut River.

The settlement and growth of New York and New Jersey under the English Governors thus proved a stumbling block to the pretensions of Massachusetts and Connecticut to extend their territory to the South Sea.

The boundaries beween Connecticut and New York were finally settled in 1731 and between Massachusetts and New York in 1773, but in spite of these settlements both States, during the Revolutionary War, pushed their claims to lands west of the boundary lines between them and New York. In 1774 Connecticut, under claim of sovereignty, had recognized a colony of nearly two thousand settlers in the fertile valley of Wyoming in Pennsylvania.

Upon a trial of the controversy between these States under the Articles of Confederation, a decree was made at Trenton in 1783 declaring that Connecticut had no right of sovereignty over the Pennsylvania lands occupied by Connecticut settlers.

Massachusetts laid claim to lands in Western New York west of Seneca Lake, and finally obtained, by compact with New York in 1786, the right of preemption to about four millions of acres embracing a territory greater than the whole of Massachusetts.

With energy and pertinacity Connecticut and Massachusetts clung to the theory that their chartered rights to extend to the South Sea gave them at least a share in the Northwest Territory. These claims seem now preposterous enough,

but in the rivalry between the States before their union under the Constitution, they were asserted with some degree of confidence in spite of conquests and treaties, by which their independent rights of extension were destroyed. It may be safely stated that none of these colonies could read their title to the South Sea by discovery and occupation.

It is equally clear that the Crown made grants to the Duke of York and to William Penn and assumed jurisdiction over what was known as New Netherlands by conquests and treaties, all of which was inconsistent with the construction of the early grants to Virginia, Massachusetts and Connecticut. But the actual settlement of lands, except on the Atlantic border, was of slow growth.

Prior to the French and Indian War, which began in 1754, a few pioneers from Virginia had penetrated beyond the Alleghanies, but their advance was opposed by the French, who held Canada and pushed their settlements to the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. The French had already established outposts at Detroit, Vincennes, and Kaskaskia in the Indiana country.

The title to the country west of the Alleghanies and east of the Mississippi or the right of pre-emption of the soil from the Indians was disputed throughout the French and Indian War and was settled by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, when, by conquest, Canada and all the territory claimed by the French east of the Mississippi were surrendered to the English.

This Treaty of Paris becomes therefore an important factor in the discussion of the merits of the claims of the New England and Southern States to the western country, for the title of the colonies by charter and, if any there were, by discovery and settlement, which was long in dispute, was superseded by the title of the King by conquest and treaty.

After the cession of Nova Scotia, Arcadia, Canada, Cape Breton and all the other islands and coasts in the gulf and river St. Lawrence by the French King to the King of Great Britain, it was agreed by the Treaty of Paris (February 10, 1763) that the *confines* between the *dominions of the two governments "shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi* from its source to the river Iberville and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of this river and the Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea" and the King of France ceded and guaranteed to England "the river and port of the Mobile and everything which he possesses or ought to possess on the left side of the River Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans."

The effect of this Treaty was to vest in the English Crown all the lands east of the Mississippi not then occupied or settled by or within the limits of the colonies.

After this Treaty, the colonists made no pretensions to extend their territory beyond the Mississippi, for their chartered limits, so far as they extended by valid and still existing charters to the South Sea, had by the terms of the treaty been restricted to the Mississippi.

The title of England to the territory of North America east of the Mississippi from the Gulf of Mexico on the south and extending to the coast of Labrador on the north, was thus settled by conquest, merging the title by discovery and settlement, and these lands became and were known before the Revolution as Crown Lands. By royal proclamation in 1763, following the Treaty of Paris, the Crown created four distinct governments by the name of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida and Grenada, and placed a western limit to all the other colonies in America in such a manner as to negative any rights or pretensions of the colonies bordering on the Atlantic to lands west of the Alleghanies.

All these back lands were reserved in the proclamation to the use of the Indians who occupied them, and the Crown expressed its royal will and pleasure that no governor or commander-in-chief in any of the colonies of Quebec, East or West Florida should presume upon any pretense whatever to grant warrants of survey or pass any patents for lands beyond the bounds of their governments as described in their commissions, and *that no governor or commander-in-chief of the other colonies or plantations should presume to grant warrants of survey or pass patents for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic ocean from the West or Northwest.*

The proclamation further reserved under the sovereignty protection and dominion for the use of the Indians *all lands and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the West and Northwest,* and strictly forbade "all our loving subjects from making any purchase or settlements whatever or taking possession of any of the lands above reserved without our special leave and license."

The Proclamation further strictly enjoined and required "all persons whatever who have either wilfully or inadvertently settled themselves upon any lands, which not having been ceded to or purchased by us, are still reserved to the Indians, forthwith to remove themselves from such settlements." Thomas Paine, in his pamphlet "Public Good," declared that it was easy to understand that the frequent and plausible mention of the Indians was only speciousness to create the impression of the humanity of government. "The object and intention of the proclamation," says Paine, "was the western boundary, which is here signified not to extend beyond the heads of the rivers, and these then are the western limits, which Virginia had as a province under the Crown of Britain."

Paine also refers to the letter of Lord Hillsborough, then Secretary of State, to Lord Bottecourt, then Governor of Virginia, which declared an intention of the Crown to create a colony on the back of Virginia, and called attention to the King's express command that no lands should be granted beyond the limits of the royal proclamation of 1763. This letter was laid before the Council of Virginia and was answered by the President of the Council in these words:

"We do not presume to say to whom our gracious sovereign shall grant his

vacant lands; and with respect to the establishment of a new colony on the back of Virginia, it is a subject of too great political importance for me to presume to give an opinion, but when that part of the country shall become sufficiently populated it may be a wise and prudent measure."

It is true that Virginia, after the treaty in 1763 and before the American Revolution, by various public acts, created counties and encouraged settlements west of the Alleghanies along the Ohio River and even to the Mississippi, and Connecticut also asserted her charter rights to laws in Pennsylvania and westward to the South Sea. But it was not until June, 1776, when the States had thrown off the British yoke, that Virginia's sweeping claim to the whole of the so-called Crown lands, west of the Alleghanies, took definite shape. At the Constitutional Convention in June, 1776, when the Commonwealth of Virginia was organized, her first constitution was adopted. One clause in this constitution, after ceding and confirming to Maryland, Pennsylvania, North and South Carolina the territories covered by their charters, except the right of navigation of the rivers Potomac and Pocomoke, declared as follows:

"The western and nothern extent of Virginia *shall* in all other respects *stand as fixed by the charter of King James the First, in the year 1609* and by the public treaty of peace between the Courts of Great Britain and France in the year 1763, unless by act of legislature one or more territories shall hereafter be laid off and governments established beyond the Alleghany mountains."

This was a clear expression of an intention to stand upon the original charter of 1609, which had been granted to the London Company and described so indefinitely the bounds of Virginia. This charter of 1609, however, had been vacated June 16, 1624, more than one hundred and fifty years before, by a decree of the Court of Kings Bench in London, and Virginia then became a royal province and its limits as a province were not thereafter defined.

Oldmixon, in his History of Virginia, attributed the change of government to the misconduct, contentions and mismanagement of the proprietors and their treatment of the Indians, who fell upon the settlers and almost exterminated them in two massacres. This historian says that Charles the First, on his accession, "appointed the governor and council himself, ordered all patents and processes to issue in his own name and reserved a quit rent of two shillings sterling for every hundred acres." (*Note 1*).

Thereafter for more than one hundred and fifty years and until the Revolution, Virginia remained a royal province, deriving its governmental powers wholly from the English Crown. Her boundaries, her extent of country and her power to purchase or acquire unappropriated lands depended upon the will of the sovereign or the governor and council who administered the government.

"The only fact," says Thomas Paine, "that can be clearly proved is that the

Note 1. John Oldmixon, British Empire in America, Vol. I, p. 238, London, 1708.

Crown of England exercised the power of dominion and government in Virginia and of the disposal of the lands and that the Charter (to the London Company in 1609 had neither been the rule of government or purchasing lands for upwards of one hundred and fifty years and this places Virginia in succession to the Crown and not to the Company." (*Note 1*).

The assertion by Virginia in her constitution of this claim to the Crown's lands met with early opposition. In October of the same year Maryland formed its State government at a convention, at which the following resolution was adopted:

"That it is the opinion of this convention that the very extensive claim of the State of Virginia to the back lands hath no foundation in justice and that if the same or any like claim is admitted, the smaller states and the liberties of America may be thereby greatly endangered, this convention being firmly persuaded that if the dominion over those lands should be established by the blood and treasure of the United States such lands ought to be considered as a common stock to be parcelled out at proper times into convenient free and independent states."

This early expression by Maryland was the keynote of her resistance to the pretensions of Virginia to the northwest territory. New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Delaware having no claims to the back country, shadowy or otherwise, joined Maryland in this opposition. Maryland declined to sign the articles of confederation until 1781, vigorously insisting that a country unsettled at the beginning of the war and wrested from the common enemy by the blood and treasure of the thirteen States should be considered a common property. In almost identical language Delaware, in 1779, made the same declaration.

New Jersey, in 1783, presented a remonstrance against the terms of cession first proposed by Virginia in these words: "We cannot be silent while viewing one state aggrandizing herself by the unjust detention of that property which has been procured by the common blood and treasure of the whole."

This dispute continued in and out of Congress from 1776 until it was finally settled by the cessions of the several States.

It is hard to form any conception of the bitterness caused by this controversy among the States. Encouraged by the attitude of Virginia, Massachusetts and Connecticut renewed their claims under their obsolete and revoked charters. and New York also made her formidable claim to all the lands west of the Alleghanies, even south of the Ohio, as suzerain to the Six Nations. The New York delegates in Congress, James Duane, William Floyd, and Alexander McDougall, pursuant to an act of the General Assembly of New York of March 7, 1780, executed a deed of cession on the 1st of March, 1781, and the Virginia Assembly had also, in January, 1780, passed an act making a cession of lands northwest of the Ohio

Note 1. "Public Good," in Paine's Political Writings, p. 171.

River upon certain conditions. The effect of these cessions was to induce Maryland to authorize her delegates in Congress to sign the Articles of Confederation.

The Act of Maryland recited her fixed determination to continue her exertions in the common cause of the Revolution "from an earnest desire to conciliate the affection of her sister States, to convince all the world of our unalterable resolution to support the independence of the United States and the alliance with his most Christian Majesty (the King of France) and to destroy forever any apprehension of our friends or hope in our enemies of this State being again united to Great Britain." This authority was coupled with the declaration that by acceding to the confederation Maryland did not intend to relinquish "any right or interest she hath with the other United or Confederated states to the back country, relying on the justice of the several states hereafter as to the claim made by this State." Under these conditions Maryland signed the Articles on the first of March, 1781.

Objection was, however, made to the proposed cessions by Virginia and New York, and agitation was renewed, especially because Virginia fixed certain conditions of surrender. These were reimbursement for her expenses in conquering and defending the ceded territory, protection of French and other inhabitants who had become citizens of Virginia, the allotment of certain territory to Col. George Rogers Clark and the soldiers who aided in capturing the British posts, and the reservation of the territory south of the Ohio River. Both the cessions of New York and Virginia were referred to a Committee of Congress, which made a report, presented on November 3, 1781, recommending the acceptance of New York's cession and the rejection of Virginia's cession.

While this report was not acted upon, but action indefinitely postponed, it contains a statement of the reasons of the approval of New York's and of the rejection of Virginia's grant.

New York's cession was approved because it appeared: (1) That all the lands belonging to the Six Nations of Indians have been put under the protection of the Crown as appendant to the government of New York, so far as respects jurisdiction only; (2) that the citizens of New York have borne the burden, both as to blood and treasure, of protecting and supporting the Six Nations as dependents and allies for one hundred years; (3) that the Crown had always treated the country of the Six Nations as appendant to the New York government; (4) that Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia have by their public acts recognized the Six Nations to be appendant to New York; (5) that by acceptance of the cession the jurisdiction of the whole western territory will be vested in the United States, greatly to the advantage of the Union.

Congress rejected the cession of Virginia on these grounds: (1) That the lands ceded or pretended to be ceded are within the claims of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York, being part of the lands belonging to the Six Nations

and their tributaries; (2) that a great part of the lands reserved by Virginia (south of the Ohio) is also within the claim of the State of New York, being part of the country of the Six Nations and westward of the western boundary line of the late colony of Virginia established by the King of Great Britain in council previous to the present revolution (referring to the Proclamation of 1763); (3) that a large part of the lands have been sold and conveyed under the government of Great Britain before the Declaration of Independence; (4) that the conditions annexed to the cession are incompatible with the honor, interests and peace of the United States, and therefore altogether inadmissible. (*Note 1*).

Madison outlines in a letter to Jefferson, dated April 10, 1782, the effect of the acceptance of New York's cession, and incidently presents the grounds of attack upon Virginia's chartered rights, in these words: "Her adversaries will be either the United States or New York, or both. The former will either claim on the principle that the vacant country is not included in any particular state and consequently falls to the whole, or will clothe themselves with the title of the latter by accepting the cession." (*Note 2*).

He then sets forth the grounds of opposition that would be urged against Virginia: (1) The charter of 1609 was annulled by the resumption of it into the hands of the Crown and the subsequent grants to Maryland, etc., denote this to have been the construction of it; (2) the proclamation of 1763 has constituted the Alleghany ridge the west limit of Virginia; (3) the letter of President Nelson on the subject of a new colony on the Ohio relinquishes on the part of Virginia all interference with the authority of the Crown beyond that limit.

These are substantially the same arguments of Maryland and Thomas Paine.

On the 29th of Obtober, 1782, Congress accepted the cession of New York, and Virginia thereafter made a new offer of surrender, which was finally accepted.

In the course of the discussion over the Report in Congress the Delegates from Maryland offered a resolution that a Committee be appointed to report the territory without the boundaries of the several States and within the limits of the United States, and the most eligible parts or parcels thereof for one or more convenient or independent States.

This resolution was lost, but the recitals in the preamble to the Resolution reiterate the position of Maryland. The preamble recites the treaty of Paris in 1763, which fixed the confines between Great Britain and France by a line drawn along the middle of the Mississippi and also the Preliminary Articles of Treaty between Great Britain and the United States of November 30, 1782, describing the boundaries of the United States. It is also recited that the territory ceded or guaranteed by these treaties comprehends 'a large extent of country lying without the lines, limits or acknowledged boundaries of any of the United States, over which no state can or ought to exercise any sovereign, legislative or juris-

Note 1. Journals of Congress, 1782, Vol. VII, pp. 276-280.
Note 2. Writings of Madison, Putnam Edition, 1900, Vol. I, p. 187.

dictional faculty, the same being acquired under the confederation by the "Joint and united efforts of all" and that the United States "have succeeded to the sovereignty over the western territory and are hereby vested *as one undivided and independent nation* with all and every power and right exercised by the King of Great Britain over the territory" in question.

This was the assertion of the sovereignty of the United States as a whole, which was recognized by the Preliminary Treaty of 1782, and not of each of the States as independent individual States.

On the other hand Virginia supported her rights on these grounds: (1) That her chartered limits were plainly defined by parallels of latitude and lines of sea coast to the east and the west; (2) that the annulment of the charter of 1609 affected only the rights of the London Company and not those of the beneficiary parties, the Colonists; (3) that the proclamation of 1763 amounted only to a suspension for a time of the right to make grants, leaving the chartered rights and limits untouched; (4) that the territorial sovereignty within the chartered limits of the different colonies devolved after the revolution *upon the States severally and not upon the confederacy;* (5) that the conquest of the northwest territory by Virginia troops under Col. Clark, *who acted not for the United States, but for Virginia alone, and the subsequent establishment of civil government by the Virginia Legislature, was a complete conquest.* (*Note 1*).

It was seriously contended by Virginia that George Rogers Clark and his soldiers made the conquest of the disputed territory for the benefit of Virginia alone and not for the United States, and that the Treaty of Peace in 1783, recognized *each of the United States as free, sovereign and independent States,* and therefore established the sovereignty of Virginia and not of the United States over the Northwest Territory. This proud claim is clearly inconsistent with the Articles of Confederation, which provided that the United States in Congress assembled shall have the sole and exclusive right of determining upon peace and war, except that in case of actual invasion a State may engage in war, and that no State shall send or receive any embassy or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance or treaty with any king, prince or State. (*Note 2*).

There can be no question that Congress appointed John Adams, Benjamin Franklin and John Jay Ministers Plenipotentiary to negotiate on behalf of the United States a treaty of peace with England, that they performed this duty, and that the United States in Congress assembled ratified the treaty.

The long and acrimonious dispute between the States over the northwest territory was happily closed by Virginia's deed of cession, modified to meet some of the objections urged against it, which was tendered on the first of March, 1784.

Massachusetts soon followed Virginia's example on November 13, 1784, and

Note 1. Rives' Life of Madison, Vol. II, p. 453.
Note 2. Articles IX and VI.

Connecticut on May 26, 1786, ceded all her claims, reserving, however, what was known as the "Western Reserve" in northeastern Ohio. Later the Carolinas and Georgia made similar deeds of cession.

The Northwest Ordinance, one of the noblest documents in American history, providing for the government of the territory, so long in dispute, was finally adopted by the Confederate Congress in 1787, and closed with these words: "Done by the United States, in Congress assembled the 13th day of July in the year of our Lord 1787 and of their sovereignty and independence the twelfth."

OUTLINE MAP SHOWING CLAIMS OF VIRGINIA TO THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY, AND THE CONFLICTING CLAIMS OF MASSACHUSETTS, CONNECTICUT AND NEW YORK

Prepared by the Author

775

The Hill.

BY FRANK ALLABEN

The souls of men, see, toiling up the hill,
  How some plunge, falling, even as they toil,
  And some tug burdens, dragging up the spoil
Of them that traffic in them as they will,
And some are mad, and some lie sick and still,
  And some go trampling on them in the moil,
  But some bend over them, with wine and oil,
Indifferent if they their climb fulfill.
"So tarrying here, how shall you reach the top?"
  I say; and she, that giveth one to drink:
"One bears me up; to serve is not to stop."
  And as she speaks, before the eye can think,
One strikes her down, and as I see her drop,
  I see her, radiant, waving at the brink!

Soldiers of 1812

Military Lists and Other Documents Relating to Vermont History, Found Among the Papers of Captain Luke Parsons, Who Served as Captain of Cavalry in the War of 1812 & Contributed by His Great-Grandson for Permanent Record in The Journal of American History

BY

CARLOS PARSONS DARLING

I

MUSTER roll and Inspection return of the Detachment of Cavalry under my Command in the First Division of Militia in the State of Vermont, comprising the third Regiment, under command of Col. Jonathan Williams.

Names	Height ft. in.	Age	Occupation	Place of Abode	Color of Eyes
Capt. Luke Parsons	6	37	Blacksmith	Springfield	Blue
1st Lieutenant Isaac Eames	5-9½	39	Farmer	Dover	Blue
2nd Lieut. Jonathan Chase	5-6	35	Joiner	Brattleboro	Blue
Cornet, Rufus How	5-6½	41	Farmer	Grafton	Blue
1st Sergt. William Wilder	5-8½	32	Shoemaker	Gilington	Blue
2nd Sergt. John Heald	5-9½	31	Joiner	Chester	Blue
3rd Sergt. Elijah Holden	5-6	25	Farmer	Springfield	Dark
4th Sergt. Jeremiah Greenleaf	6	21	Blacksmith	Guilford	Blue
Corporal Asa Washburn	6-4	21	Farmer	Putney	Blue
2nd Corporal Elisha Reed	5-9	38	Shoemaker	Rockingham	Dark
3rd Corportl William Stiles	5-5½	21	Farmer	Athens	Blue
4th Corporal Otis Sears	5-8	22	Farmer	Dover	Black
Musician, Ebenezer L. Williams	5-7½	20	Farmer	Cavendish	Blue
PRIVATES					
Paul Haywood	5-9	24	Farmer	Weathersfield	Blue
Dudley Thomas	5-6	22	Farmer	Weathersfield	Blue
Ephraim Gale, Jr.	5-11½	24	Farmer	Guilford	Blue
Roswell Colburn	5-10	21	Farmer	———	Blue
Benjamin Leroy	5-8	20	Shoemaker	———	Black
Sylvenas Toby	5-8	20	Farmer		Blue
Grove Streeter	6-3	20	Farmer		Black
Samuel Rice	5-10	22	Blacksmith		Black
Lee Alexander	5-4½	22	Sadler		Black
Solam Sbumway	5-9½	19	Farmer		Blue
Josiah S. Allen	5-3½	24	Farmer		Black
Eli Horsley	5-9½	26	Farmer		Blue

James Roberts, Jr.	5-7	19	Farmer	Blue
Sylvester Holden	5-9	24	Farmer	Blue
Lyman Holden	5-6	21	Farmer	Blue
Daniel Charter	5-8½	21	Farmer	Blue
John Caffrey	6	21	Blacksmith	Blue
Lyman Bullard	5-11	20	Farmer	Black
Thadeus Underwood	6-3	18	Farmer	Blue
Nehemiah Needham	5-9½	39	Farmer	Black
Jasper Hunt	5-9½	20	Farmer	Blue
Dexter Hatch	5-5½	25	Farmer	Blue
John Thomas	5-9	30	Clothier	Blue
Bildad Adams	—	—	—	—

Attest: ELIJAH HOLDEN,
Sergeant.

Burlington Vt. Oct. 12st 1812.

II

NAMES FOUND ON OLD PAPERS

Gates Perry, Rockingham, Vt.
John M. Wade
Josiah Emmons, Rockingham, Vt.
Henry Willard
Arlington Chafhee, Rockingham, Vt.
Ephraim Spencer, Westminster, Vt.
Zoiba Howard
John F. Gilson, Rockingham, Vt.
John Smith, Jr., Grafton, Vt.
Davis Reed, Wardsborough, Vt.
Caleb Kelley, Wardsborough, Vt.
Alden Tobey

III

NAMES APPEARING ON AN OLD EXPENSE ACCOUNT KEPT BY CAPTAIN LUKE PARSONS

James Clay
Charles Boutwell
Reuben Dike
Samuel Adams
Henry Page
Luther Hutchinson
Jacob Sargeant
John M. (Collom?)
Daniel (Road?)
Hanry Willard
John F. Gilson
John Smith, Jr.

Alden Toby
Ziba Haywood
Francis (Feltch?)
Abel Brown
Edmond Lockwood
Lewis Lynd

IV

State of Vermont, Windsor County SS. To Corp. Oliver Mason.

You are commanded to notify Corp. Elijah Holden, Abel Brown 2nd, Paul Haywood, Edmond Lockwood, William Gould, and Dudley Thomas, to prepare themselves to march at a moments warning to join the Company of Cavalry in Cavendish with suitable horses, blankets and all necessary equipment, fit for service, with three days provision, likewise the selection of each town will provide with five days more. You will likewise recommend to them that woolen garment is required as the winter is close at hand. I shall hereafter inform them of the day that we shall appear before our superior officers at Cavendish.

Hereof fail not and due return make, according to law.

Given under my hand at Springfield Vt., the 14th Day of Sept 1812.

LUKE PARSONS, Captain.

This may certify that I have notified these men according to law.

Oliver Mason.

V

NAMES IN THE "APPRISEMENT AND DESCRIPTION OF THE HORSES OF THE CAVALRY DETAILED FROM CAPTAIN PARSONS TO CAPTAIN (PRESTEN'S ?) COMPANY FOR THE SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES."

Captain Luke Parsons
Ebenezer L. Williams
John Held
Elijah Holden
Samuel Adams
Dudley Thomas
George Wade
Paul Haywood
Reuben Dike
Charles Boutwell
John McCollen
Jacob Sargeant
Luther Hutchinson

Henry Page
Francis Felch
Appraised by us the subscribers

Cavendish Vt. 26th Sept 1812.

(Turhens?) Blood.
John Brown Appraisers.
Aaron Hall

VI

NAMES IN THE "RETURN OF CAPTAIN LUKE PARSONS COMPANY"

Captain Luke Parsons, Springfield, Vt.
Lieut. Isaac Eames, Dover, Vt.
Lieut. Jonathan Chase, Brattleborough, Vt.
Ensign Rufus How, Grafton, Vt.

This is dated from Headquarters, Burlington, Vermont, October 23, 1812, and is signed by Luke Parsons, Captain.

(*To be Continued*)

The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence

BY

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, M. A., PH. D.

Member of the Faculty of the University of North Carolina, Author's Club of London, North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, Etc.; Author of "Interpreters of Life, and the Modern Spirit," "Mark Twain," "George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works," Etc.

THE classic controversy of a century, over the famous Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, once more has come into national prominence. The date, May 20, 1775, stands upon the State flag of North Carolina. In 1831, under the authority and direction of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, the Governor of the State, Montford Stokes, published a pamphlet containing the text of the reputed Declaration of Independence, together with the testimony of the eye-witnesses of that event, and other documents. Once more State sanction has been given to the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, the Historical Commission of North Carolina having granted the Colonial Dames the privilege of placing a tablet in the rotunda of the State Capitol, at Raleigh, North Carolina. This was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies on May 20, 1912. The tablet bears the inscription:

In Commemoration
of the
Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence
May 20, 1775,
And the Twenty-Seven Signers.

Erected by the
North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames of America
1912

It seems appropriate, in view of such decisive action in assertion of the authenticity of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, of May 20, 1775, to review in detail the evidence on both sides of the famous controversy. Historians still differ strongly in regard to the issue, the majority disputing the authenticity of

the Declaration. On the one side are those who rely upon the testimony of numerous eye-witnesses of the event, many of whom affirm that they were present at meetings on May 19 and 20, 1775, at which were passed a Declaration of Independence.[1] On the other side are those who assert that the Mecklenburg Resolves, printed contemporaneously in various newspapers with the date May 31, 1775, associated therewith, constituted the only action taken by Mecklenburg patriots in May, 1775, looking toward independence.[2] Despite the indefatigable researches made in all directions and covering well-nigh a century of time, as well as the wealth of printed discussion of the subject, there is still lacking indisputable evidence in support of either side of the controversy. The historians who aver that the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence of May 20, 1775, is a myth, have failed to adduce any convincing evidence that there was even a meeting on May 31, 1775, or that the Resolves were not passed on May 20, 1775. The historians who assert the authenticity of the Declaration of May 20, 1775, rest their claim upon the testimony of the eye-witnesses, the now indisputable evidence that whatever action was taken in May, 1775, was contemporaneously regarded as a declaration of independence, and the citations of allusions in contemporary literature which may be construed as referring to a declaration of independence. But on the other hand, they have been unable to discover any published accounts of the proceedings in Charlotte on May 19-20, 1775, in the newspapers of that period, whereas the Resolves, carrying in some instances the date of May 31, 1775, appeared printed, in part or in full, in numerous contemporary prints.

Before setting forth the evidence in support of the authenticity of the Declaration of May 20, it will be well to record certain indisputable facts clearly demonstrated by the investigations of the last eight years. It is now established beyond doubt that the copy of the *Cape Fear Mercury,* until recently supposed to contain the text of the Declaration, which Governor Martin transmitted to Lord Dartmouth, contained not the text of the Declaration, but the text of the Resolves; that there were not two meetings, one on May 19-20, at which the Declaration was passed, another on May 31, at which the Resolves were passed, and furthermore that the decisive action in May, 1775, by Mecklenburg patriots, whatever its exact nature, was generally regarded at the time and throughout the period up to 1800, when the records were destroyed by fire, as constituting a genuine declaration of independence. It remains to set forth the positive evidence in support of the authenticity of the Declaration, the date of its promulgation, and the character of the action taken.

The discovery, in September, 1904, in the Moravian Archives at Bethania,

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Note 1. *This side of the controversy is best set forth by Dr. George Graham in his book, "The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, May 20, 1775, and Lives of Its Signers," Neale Publishing Company, 1905.

Note 2. *This side of the controversy is extensively presented by Mr. W. H. Hoyt in his painstaking work, entitled: "The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1907.

North Carolina, of the record kept by Trangott Bagge and made by him about September, 1783, containing an explicit allusion to the action of Mecklenburg patriots in May, 1775, brought to light the most valid evidence now known in support of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. The present writer has recently published the record of a conversation with George Washington in 1791, by Dr. Charles Caldwell, taken from his *Autobiography*,[1] containing explicit reference to the Mecklenburg Declaration of independence, and the assertion that it was passed in Charlotte, in May, 1775. Neither constitutes irrefutable proof of the Declaration, it must distinctly be noted; but both constitute indisputable evidence that the action taken in Mecklenburg in May, 1775, was regarded by the patriots of that section as constituting an unquestioned declaration of independence. Perhaps the strangest feature of the controversy arising out of the discovery of Trangott Bagge's reference is the failure, on the part of the supporters of the Declaration, to discern the striking support thereby given to their contention. In order to exhibit this, I will outline the only tenable theory now left in view of all known evidence documentary and printed in support of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. This theory is a working hypothesis, not indisputably proven by evidence, and constitutes the ultimate basis of all claims for the authenticity of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence of May 20, 1775. This theory may be succinctly set forth in a series of syllogistic statements.

There was a meeting in Charlotte, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, on May 19, 1775, lasting until two o'clock on the morning of May 20, and there was an adjourned meeting on May 20, at noon. The date of the meeting is specifically given, by eight of the fourteen eye-witnesses who testified, as May 20, 1775—i. e., the date of the meeting at which independence was declared.

There was no meeting on May 31. None of the witnesses refer to two meetings, one on May 20th and one on any subsequent date.

The Resolves, which constituted a conditional declaration of independence, had been elaborately prepared in advance of the meeting of May 19. The news of the Battle of Lexington, arriving in Charlotte on that date, aroused such an outburst of patriotic fervor that the temper of the people could not be satisfied with the mediately temperate Resolves previously prepared. A long and stormy session ensued, lasting until two o'clock on the morning of May 20, and resulting in the postponement of decisive action to an adjourned meeting on May 20. An unconditional declaration of independence was now prepared which, owing to the brief time allowed for its composition and the stress of the excitement of the hour, was inevitably inferior in composition, that is, in literary form and expression, to the Resolves, which had been prepared with great care and deliberation in advance of the meeting of May 19.

Note 1. Autobiography of Charles Caldwell, M. D., with a Preface, Notes, and Appendix, by Harriot W. Warner. Lippincott, Grambo & Co., Philadelphia, 1855.

On May 20, 1775, two papers were read: the Declaration of Independence, and the Resolves. Despite the seeming weakness of the later paper in comparison with the former, both papers were read, and for the following reasons. After the declaration of independence was adapted *in camera,* it was clearly seen by the calmer heads that this document did not adequately provide, in detail and in *extenso,* for the administration of the affairs of the county under an independent regime, i. e., "certain rules and regulations for this country, until laws shall be provided for us by the congress." Moreover, it would be exceedingly impolitic in view of the strong Tory sentiment in the county and in the province, to give general publicity throughout North Carolina to the declaration of independence—an incredibly forward and revolutionary step by a single frontier county in a single colony whose representatives in the Continental Congress were by no means committed to independence. The Resolves, constituting a conditional assertion of independence, and providing for the exigencies of the county under an independent government, were to be generally disseminated abroad as the fundamental expression of the people. The more radical and unconditional Declaration, expressing the most vigorous spirit of independence, was to be referred to North Carolina's representatives in the Continental Congress, with request for action, and advice upon the step taken.

The Declaration of Independence was withheld from publication for the well-founded reason that such action would be inexpedient until given sanction by North Carolina's representatives in the Continental Congress sitting at Philadelphia. The Resolves were given out to the press generally, appearing in the *South Carolina Gazette,* and *County Journal* of Tuesday, June 13, 1775, in "CharlesTown," South Carolina; the *North Carolina Gazette,* New-Bern, on Friday, June 16, 1775; the *Cape Fear Mercury,* Wilmington, North Carolina, almost certainly in its issue of June 23, 1775; and in a number of other newspapers, in a more or less fragmentary form.[1]

Some days after the meeting of May 20, that is, early in June, Captain Jack was dispatched to Philadelphia with a copy of the proceedings of that meeting, which he transmitted to the North Carolina delegates, Richard Caswell, William Hooper and Joseph Hewes, on or before June 23, 1775. This delegation regarded the declaration of independence as premature, maintained a discreet and vigilant silence on the point in the Congress and to their colleagues there, and returned a message to the people of Mecklenburg by Captain Jack, expressing their opinion that the declaration of independence passed by the Mecklenburg patriots was at that time premature.

The evidence of the witnesses is to the effect that at the adjourned meeting on May 20, two papers were read and adopted in committee, and the whole read to the assembled multitude from the court house steps by Colonel Polk. These

Note 1. New York Journal or The General Adviser, June 29, 1775, Massachusetts Spy or American Oracle of Liberty, July 12, 1775.

two papers were the declaration of independence, and the Resolves, in an amended form. The Resolves, as printed in Charlestown and New-Bern and indisputably emanating from the same source because of their identity, bear the date May 31—explainable as the date of transmission of the copy to the papers, not as the date of their passage. It is noteworthy that the copy of the Resolves taken from the *Cape Fear Mercury,* presumably of June 23, 1775, and transmitted by Governor Martin to Lord Dartmouth, contains no date attached.

It is no ground for surprise that the North Carolina delegates preserved such a discreet silence on the subject of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. It is indisputable that neither the Continental Congress as a body, nor even the Adamses themselves, were in favor of independence in June, 1775. It was the then policy of the Continental Congress that reconciliation with Great Britain was first to be sought by every legitimate means, and any defiance of royal authority, such as the independent action of the Proprietors of Transylvania of May 25, 1775, was frowned upon by the Adamses as late as December, 1775. It is scarcely to be doubted, in view of their publication in so many newspapers at the time, that the Resolves were known to members of the Congress other than the three North Carolina delegates, and yet the evidence is very strong that even the Resolves were regarded as so revolutionary in tone that they were suppressed in Philadelphia and not published by Philadelphia newspapers which copied news from the very issues of the papers containing the text of the Resolves. Care was thus sedulously taken against giving any rein to free expressions favoring national independence by that body, since such expressions might effectually upset the efforts then going forward for the purpose of effecting reconciliation with Great Britain.

The above theory, the only tenable theory now remaining, in the light of all the evidence, in support of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence of May 20, 1775, is strengthened greatly by the record recently discovered, which was written at Salem, North Carolina, in the autumn of 1783, by Trangott Bagge, a merchant and man of affairs in the town during the Revolutionary War. The English translation of the German record reads:

"I cannot leave unmentioned at the end of the 1775th year that already in the summer of this year, that is in May, June, or July, the County of Mecklenburg in North Carolina declared itself free and independent of England, and made such arrangements for the administration of the laws among themselves, as later the Continental Congress made for all. This Congress, however, considered these proceedings premature."[1] The real significance of Bagge's statement, which seems to have escaped the notice of historians, is the explicit statement that two distinct actions were taken: (1) The County of Mecklenburg in North Carolina

Note 1. Article by Miss Adelaide Fries in the Charlotte Observer, April 15, 1906. The translation of the extract given in S. A. Ashe's History of North Carolina, Vol. I, pp. 459-460, is imperfect and ungrammatical.

"declared itself free and independent of England,' and (2) the County of Mecklenburg "made such arrangements for the administration of the laws among themselves, as later the Continental Congress made for all." Both of these statements do not pertain to the Declaration alone, by which no adequate and detailed arrangement was made for "the administration of the laws among themselves." Both of these statements do not pertain to the Resolves alone, which did not declare the County of Mecklenburg "free and independent of England." The two statements of Bagge, taken together, point to both the Declaration and the Resolves—the first statement to the Declaration, the second statement to the Resolves, as we know them or in an amended form. The opponents of the May 20th Declaration have advanced the plausible theory that Bagge was the victim of a popular delusion of the period, to the effect that the Resolves actually constituted a declaration of independence. This theory is defied by the unmistakable language of the Resolves, which nowhere declare or imply that the County of Mecklenburg proclaims itself free and independent of England, but explicitly states that since "By an address presented to his Majesty by both houses of Parliament in February last, the American colonies are declared to be in a state of actual rebellion, *we conceive* that all laws and commissions confirmed by, or derived from, the authority of the king or Parliament are annulled and vacated, and the former civil constitution of these colonies for the present wholly suspended." The ones of responsibility for their state of affairs requiring the passage of the Resolves is thus clearly thrown upon the Parliamentary Address to the King, of February, 1775. The evidence of the Rev. Humphrey Hunter, who testified that he was present on May 19-20, 1775, refers to two papers, each representing distinctive action, at the meeting *in camera* on May 20. "The 20th of May, at 12 o'clock," says his *Memoir,* "the Delegation, as above, had convened. The select committee was also present, and reported agreeably to instructions, viz., a statement of grievances and formal draft of the Declaration of Independence, written by Ephraim Brevard, chairman of the said committee, and read by him to the Delegation. The resolves, bye-laws and regulations were read by John McKnitt Alexander. It was then announced from the Chair, are you all agreed? There was not a dissenting voice. Finally, the whole proceedings were read distinctly and auditbly, at the Court-House door, by Col. Thomas Polk, to a large, respectable and approving assemblage of citizens, who were present, and gave sanction to the business of the day. A copy of all those transactions were then drawn up, and given in charge to Capt. James Jack, then of Charlotte, that he should present them to Congress, then in session in Philadelphia."

One other striking bit of evidence, to which the present writer has recently given publicity, is the record of the conversation of Dr. Charles Caldwell, then a young man of nineteen, afterwards a distinguished physician, with George Washington, during the latter's tour through the South in 1791. Thirteen young men, one

for each of the Colonies, with Caldwell at their head, were sent forward ahead of the main body, the Rowan Light Horse Company, to meet General Washington at the line between North Carolina and South Carolina. The great grandfather of the present writer, General John Steele, Representative of the Salisbury District in Congress, and afterwards first Comptroller of the Treasury, went to Charlotte to meet General Washington who was his personal friend. In Washington's Diary, we read under date of Monday, May 30th:

"At 4 o'clock I was out from Maj. Fifer's, and about ten miles at the line which divides Mecklenburg from Rowan Counties, I met a party of horse belonging to the latter, who came from Salisbury to escort me on. (It ought to have been mentioned also that upon my entering the State of No. Carolina I was met by a party of the Mecklenburg horse—but these being near their homes I dismissed them).

"I was also met 5 miles from Salisbury by the Mayor of the corporation, Judge McKoy and others—Mr. Steel, Representative for the District was so polite as to come all the way to Charlotte to meet me."

Washington omits to mention the smaller detachments which went to meet him—the thirteen young men, headed by Caldwell, and a company of young boys, with bucktails in their hats—a symbol of independence—which met him about half a mile from Salisbury. Caldwell described with exceptional particularity the details of his meeting and conversation with the revered Washington. A portion of the conversation follows:

"During the late war, if my information be correct," observed Washington, "the inhabitants were true to the cause of their country, and brave in its defense."

"Your information is correct, sir," replied Caldwell. "They were, almost to a man, true-hearted Whigs and patriots, and as gallant soldiers as ever drew swords or pointed rifles in behalf of freedom. In Mecklenburg County, where we now are, and in Rowan, which lies before us, a Tory did not dare to show his face—if he were known to be a Tory. It was in a small town, which we shall pass, that Lord Cornwallis lay encamped, when he swore that he had never before been in such a d...m..d nest of Whigs—for that he could not, in the surrounding country, procure a chicken or a pig for his table, or a gallon of oats for his horse, but by purchasing it with the blood of his soldiers, who went in quest of it."

"Pray, what is the name of that town?" queried Washington.

"Charlotte, sir," replied young Caldwell proudly, 'the county town of Mecklenburg, and the place where independence was declared about a year before its declaration by Congress * * * * "

Later in his account, Caldwell records: "He (Washington) at length inquired of me whether he might expect to meet at Charlotte any of the leading members of the convention which prepared and passed the Mecklenburg Dclaration of

Independence, and especially whether my father would be there. I replied that my father was dead, and that Dr. Brevard (misspelled *Prevard*), the author of the Declaration, was also dead; that, of the members of the convention still living, I knew personally but two—Adam Alexander, who had been president of the body, and John McKnitt Alexander, his brother, who had been its secretary; that they were far advanced in life, and lived at some distance from Charlotte, but that I felt confident their ever-green spirit of patriotism, united to their strong desire to see him, would bring them there, should they be able to travel." It is a matter of enduring regret that Washington, in his *Diary,* makes no allusion to the action of Mecklenburg patriots in May, 1775.

The weight of historical evidence and the majority of historians who have considered the incident, tend to discredit, in the minds of many, the contention, concretised in the memorial tablet erected on May 20, 1912, in the Rotunda of the State Capitol at Raleigh, N. C., that on May 20, 1775, Mecklenburg County declared itself free and independent of Great Britain. The verdict against the opponents of the Declaration must be the Scotch verdict: "Not proven." The adherents of the Declaration rest their case upon the testimony of numerous eye-witnesses who assert that a Declaration of Independence was passed on May 20, 1775. The opponents of the Declaration have failed to prove, or even to adduce satisfactory evidence, that there was any meeting on May 31, 1775.

The case remains one of the most interesting of mooted historical mysteries. If, as many careful historical investigators affirm, the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence of May 20, 1775, is a myth, then it must assuredly be what Mr. W. H. Hoyt describes it to be: "A strange and almost incredible story of the fallibility of human memory."

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